FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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FD-263 (Rev. 3-8-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
KANSAS CITY	CHICAGO	9/20/68	9/17 - 19/68

TITLE OF CASE

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

REPORT MADE BY [redacted] TYPED BY ENV b6 b7C

CHARACTER OF CASE

ANTI-RIOT LAWS

REFERENCES:

Bureau teletype to all SACs, dated 9/12/68.

-RUC-

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Period of this report contains only those dates investigation was conducted subsequent to time this case was initiated. Information obtained prior to period was obtained from file review.

Following information is set out herein to protect the source, who requested his identity not be disclosed regarding the following:

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

CASE HAS BEEN:
PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO
PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

5 - Bureau (RM)
4 - Chicago (RM)
(2-USA, Chicago, Ill.)
2 - Kansas City
(1-176-3)
(1-100-12438)

Not disseminated + lead set to handle under individual caption

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED
SERIALIZED ____ FILED
SEP 16 1968
FBI — CHICAGO

[redacted] b6 b7C

NTING OFFICE : 1967 O—273-877

KC 176-3

On 8/23/68, [redacted] Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, advised he attended the lecture given this date by "Yippie" leader PAUL KRASSNER, who was to speak on Student Drug Involvement. He said KRASSNER spoke to some 290 NSA delegates, but there was little discussion of drugs. KRASSNER told the delegates he and the Yippies will demonstrate in Chicago next week, but the only specific information he gave was that the Yippies had smuggled a pig into Chicago and will run it for President. KRASSNER claimed they have a permit from Mayor DALEY for use of Lincoln Park in demonstrating. In answer to a query from the audience as to what his organization would do after the Democratic Convention, KRASSNER stated that anti-establishment groups will go underground and, without hurting people, will blow up such installations as ROTC buildings and recruiting stations.

b6
b7C

[redacted] described KRASSNER as a clever person who knows how to manipulate his audience, and noted he made frequent use of obscenities, as has been commonplace with other speakers at the NSA Congress.

B*
(COVER PAGE)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 2 - USA, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Report of: [redacted] Office: KANSAS CITY b6 b7C
Date: 9/20/68

Field Office File #: 176-3

Title: NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Character: ANTI-RIOT LAWS

Synopsis:

Annual Congress of National Student Association held 8/17-26/68 at Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas. Newspaper accounts indicate 100 to 150 NSA delegates planned to demonstrate at Democratic National Convention, Chicago, Illinois. NSA delegates urged to demonstrate at Chicago by TOM HAYDEN, former SDS President; ROBERT SHEER, editor "Ramparts" magazine, and Rev. JOSEPH DUFFY, Hartford Seminary. Underground newspaper "The Rat" containing guidelines for demonstration distributed. ALLARD LOWENSTEIN, organizer of Coalition for an Open Convention, told NSA his group not organizing demonstrators, but no "Commandment" against it. Other addresses scheduled by DICK GREGORY, Negro activist, on racism, and PAUL KRASSNER, Yippie leader, on drugs. On 8/23 & 24, 1968, about 144 unidentified NSA delegates departed for Chicago, Illinois.

-RUC-

DETAILS:

On August 14, 1968, [redacted] b6 b7C
[redacted] Kansas State University (KSU), Manhattan, Kansas, advised that the 21st Congress of the National

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Student Association (NSA) will meet August 17-26, 1968 on the campus of KSU. He said advance publicity indicated Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY and Senator EUGENE MC CARTHY were expected to address the convention but according to current information, these speeches have been cancelled due to prior commitments. He noted the NSA Congress is considered the official legislative body of NSA and the number of voting delegates is determined by the size of the university represented. He understood that it is anticipated about 1000 delegates representing about 350 schools will attend. He said KSU only joined NSA on a one-year basis during the past school year, but was apparently picked for the 1968 convention site over Southern Illinois University and the University of Wisconsin because it was less expensive.

On August 18, 1968, the "Manhattan Mercury", daily newspaper, Manhattan, Kansas, reported the opening of the NSA Congress on August 17, 1968 and quoted MARGO AVERILL, Publicity Director of the Congress and full-time staff member of NSA, as saying the purpose of the Congress was a "learning experience for delegates". According to Miss AVERILL, the NSA was founded in 1947 by students coming home from World War II, and these veterans organized to foster inter-campus cooperation nationally and to represent the United States in the international student world. She emphasized the NSA wanted to dispel the notion that the Congress is primarily a political meeting, and said, "Delegates will spend more than half of their time in seminars, conferences and workshops on student Government programming. They can and will pass resolutions on political topics, but this is not the primary purpose."

The August 20, 1968 edition of the "Kansas City Times", daily newspaper, Kansas City, Missouri, stated that on Saturday night (August 17, 1968), about one hundred radical members (not identified) of NSA held a caucus and among things they want are NSA anti-draft demonstrations and police confrontations outside the Democratic Convention in Chicago. A resolution was passed opposing endorsement of any candidate.

The Agenda for the NSA Convention showed that among events scheduled for August 19, 1968 were a "Special Workshop

on demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention" conducted by RENNIE DAVIS at 4:00 PM; and a "Discussion of the Movement for Social Change in America on both a theoretical and a practical level", conducted by RENNIE DAVIS, ROBERT SCHEER, JOSEPH RAUH, and TOM HAYDEN at 7:00 PM.

In connection with the above, an undated issue of the NSA Congress News stated: " 'Ramparts' Editor Robert Sheer will debate Joseph Duffy, Connecticut chairman of the McCarthy for President campaign Monday. Former SDS President Tom Hayden, now active in the mobilization coordinating demonstrations at the Democratic Convention, will also participate in the debate. Michael Ferber, Harvard graduate student, will speak at Wednesday night's plenary on the draft. He was recently acquitted in Boston's anti-draft trial which resulted in two-year prison sentences for Dr. Benjamine Spock, Rev. Sloane Coffin and Mitchell Goodman. David Harris from the Institute for the study of non-violence will also speak. He is a former Stanford student body president who resigned to lead the West Coast Resistance. He burned his induction orders and received a three-year prison sentence. He is married to folksinger Joan Baez."

On August 20, 1968, an article in the "Manhattan Mercury" stated:

"Three men, two described as radicals, called for mass demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention demanding an end to the Vietnam war before 600 cheering delegates to the National Student Association (NSA) Congress last night.

"In an open forum, Robert Sheer, editor of Ramparts Magazine, said, 'If students don't act at the convention they must decide what their reaction is going to be when all their efforts for Eugene McCarthy are swallowed up by a Humphrey machine. If the American people are not left with a vote against the war in Vietnam after this convention, all the work of the students and middle class, all the efforts in the primaries, all the fund-raising will have been in vain, and the Democratic process will have failed.' "

This article further stated that "On a leaflet distributed at the Congress, Tom Hayden, project director of the National Mobility Committee to End the war in Vietnam, has outlined activities planned for convention week. They include a mass march from downtown Chicago followed by a rally at the convention site. Referring to the draft Hayden told listeners they were being 'brainwashed by the government, manipulated and fed into the system. We must rely on ourselves and not politicians to get what we want.' Hayden is further quoted as saying that when students realize they are 'indispensable to the Vietnam war' and 'this meaningless educational system' and 'large corporations with their emphasis on money' they will realize they must 'break away from the system to put an end to these miseries. Then you will no longer let the government deprive you of the right to live decent peaceful lives.'"

The article noted that "The more soft-spoken Rev. Joseph Duffy, Chairman of the McCarthy organization in Connecticut and a theologian and sociologist at Hartford Seminary said 'by moving to Chicago, students would be using the political process to show the convention what they want. We must make use of the talents and skills of the middle class by putting it to work in the political arena.' "

An article in the August 21, 1968 edition of the "Kansas City Star" stated that TOM HAYDEN, former president of SDS and a leader of the National Mobilization movement, had held recruiting seminars at the NSA convention concerning demonstrations at the National Democratic Convention in Chicago. Article noted HAYDEN has been accompanied by ROBERT SCHEER, editor of "The California-based radical magazine, Ramparts," and further stated that "Despite the militancy of their demands and the aggressiveness of their charges against the Johnson-Humphrey administration, at no time has Hayden or Scheer called explicitly for violence. The printed material appearing here maintains the same guarded stance."

This article stated that a New York-based underground newspaper, "The Rat", is being distributed and contains a map of Chicago designating demonstration targets, and includes

"suggestions such as: 'Bring vaseline for defense against Chemical Mace,' and 'For bail bring at least $200 in cash, or the name of a contact' ". Article stated that "Practically the entire 20-page issue of 'The Rat' being circulated here is devoted to planning and defense for the coming Chicago demonstrations. Demonstrators are urged to bring 'propaganda facilities' such as walkie-talkies, sound equipment, mimeograph machines, and Viet Cong flags".

An article in the Topeka Daily Capital, daily newspaper, Topeka, Kansas, on August 21, 1968, stated, "Most delegates refuse to comment on plans to attend the convention. But a poll of about 600 delegates on the NSA plenary session floor indicated that as many as 150 plan to demonstrate in Chicago." This article also noted that along with SHEER, HAYDEN, and REV. JOSEPH DUFFY, the NSA session on August 19, 1968, was addressed by ALLARD LOWENSTEIN, described as a "key organizer of the Coalition for an Open Convention". LOWENSTEIN is quoted as saying his organization would not "organize demonstrators to go to Chicago, . . but there is no 'Eleventh Commandment' that 'Thou shall not demonstrate' ".

It is noted that RENNIE DAVIS or JOSEPH RAUH were not further identified in any publication, and there is no indication they actually attended the NSA Congress.

The Agenda for the NSA Convention showed that among events scheduled for August 20, 1968 was a "Special Presentation on the nature of racism in America" by DICK GREGORY at 11:00 PM.

An article in the "Manhattan Mercury" on August 21, 1968 stated that "More than 1,000 students and spectators packed Williams Auditorium, Umberger Hall, at Kansas State University and listened for more than two hours as Negro comedian DICK GREGORY, in an after-midnight speech, called on delegates to the NSA Congress to unravel the nation's political dilemma and create a Government where 'our leaders can be honest' and 'the black folks can trust the white folks'". The article noted that "During bursts of cheering and applause, the civil rights activist said,'this government has become a slick bag of tricks run by no-good politicians, and unless you young kids do

something about it this nation is going to burn'".

The Agenda for the NSA Convention showed that among events scheduled for August 23, 1968, was a meeting regarding "Cultural Impact of Student Drug Involvement" guided by "Mr. Paul Krassner, Editor of the "The Realist" and spiritual guide of the Youth International Party (Yippies)".

On August 23, 1968, check with public transportation facilities, Manhattan, Kansas, was negative concerning travel arrangements for any groups from the NSA Congress, except that [redacted] Continental Trailways Bus Company, advised that one 46-passenger bus was chartered by NSA to leave KSU at 12:00 Noon this date, en route to the airport at Kansas City, Missouri.

On August 23, 1968, SAs [redacted] and [redacted] determined at Municipal Airport, Kansas City, Missouri, that 12 of the passengers who arrived on the above bus departed at 3:00 PM same date via Braniff Airlines Flight 210, en route to Chicago, Illinois, and the remaining 31 NSA delegates had arrangements to depart on TWA Flight 350 at 3:50 PM and TWA Flight 120 at 4:50 PM, both flights destined for Chicago. b6 b7C

On August 24, 1968, [redacted] above, further advised that two 46-passenger buses were chartered by NSA to depart KSU, Manhattan, Kansas, at 12:00 Noon today en route to the airport at Kansas City, Missouri. He noted there was an inquiry the previous night from NSA concerning the chartering of a bus from Manhattan, Kansas, to Chicago, Illinois, but the caller hung up when informed the price would be in excess of $800.00, and has not been heard from again. [redacted] said that during the previous evening at least 21 persons, apparently connected with the NSA convention, purchased individual tickets for Chicago and departed on regularly scheduled buses. [redacted] noted no other buses were chartered for NSA prior to closing of the Congress on August 26, 1968.

On August 24, 1968, SAs [redacted] and [redacted] determined at Municipal Airport, Kansas City, Missouri, that of the passengers arriving this date on two buses b6 b7C

from the NSA Congress, approximately 80 persons departed en route to Chicago, Illinois. About 20 persons left on Braniff Airlines, Flight 210 at 3:00 PM and the remainder on TWA Flights 350 at 3:50 PM and 120 at 4:50 PM.

On September 17, 1968, [redacted] KSU, and on September 19, 1968, Chief [redacted] Traffic and Security Office, KSU, Manhattan, Kansas, advised they have received no additional pertinent information since conclusion of the NSA Congress on August 26, 1968. b6 b7C

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, CHICAGO DATE: 9/20/68

FROM : SAC, KANSAS CITY (176-3) -RUC-

SUBJECT: NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
ANTI RIOT LAWS

100-18305

(OO-Chicago)

Enclosed are four (4) copies of Kansas City report of SA [redacted] dated and captioned as above.

Separate 176 cases are being opened in Kansas City on THOMAS HAYDEN and [redacted] b6 b7C

Chicago is requested to advise Kansas City which, if any, of the other individuals, named in enclosure, are to be the subjects of separate 176 cases.

[redacted]

2 - Chicago (Encs. 4) (RM)
1 - Kansas City
PJW:ENV
(3)

2

[redacted] b6 b7C

9/24/68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE URGENT

....SAC
....ASAC
....CC
....ASST CC
....STENO SOP
....C-#1
....C-#2
....C-#3
....C-#4
....C-#5
....C-#6
....C-#7
....S-#1
....S-#2
....S-#3
....S-#4
....S-#5

TO: BUREAU
NEW YORK
WFO

FROM: KANSAS CITY (176-3)

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION; ANTI - RIOT LAWS, CO CG.

REBUTEL TO ALL SACS, SEPT. TWELVE LAST, ENTITLED "DISTURBANCES IN CONNECTION WITH DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION."

RELIABLE SOURCE AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, ADVISED SPEECHES AT CONVENTION NATIONAL STUDENT ASSN., MANHATTAN, KS., AUGUST SEVENTEEN TO TWENTY SIX LAST REPORTEDLY RECORDED ON VIDEO TAPE BY NSA PERSONNEL WITH OWN EQUIPMENT BROUGHT IN BY NSA. POSSIBILITY EXISTS SPEECHES BY THOMAS HAYDEN, AUGUST NINETEEN LAST AND [redacted] AUGUST TWENTY ONE LAST AND PAUL KRASSNER, AUGUST TWENTY THREE LAST WERE SO RECORDED. KANSAS CITY NOT AWARE ANY POSSIBLE SOURCES AT NSA. b6 b7C

UACB, NEW YORK AND WFO WILL CONSIDER CONTACTING NSA OFFICES AT NY AND WASHINGTON TO DETERMINE WHETHER TAPES OF SPEECHES OF ABOVE SUBJECTS AVAILABLE.

AIR MAIL COPY TO CG. - P -

1 - Chicago (AM)
4 - Kansas City (1 - 176-3, 1 - 176-HAYDEN, 1 - [redacted] 1 - 176- KRASSNER) b6 b7C
PJW:ak
(5)

[redacted]

9-26-68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE URGENT

TO SACs KANSAS CITY
NEW YORK
WASHINGTON FIELD (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION; ARL. OO: CG.

REKCTEL TO BUREAU, WFO AND NEW YORK SEPTEMBER TWENTYFOUR LAST AND KCTEL TO BUREAU SAME DATE.

NEW YORK AND WFO, CONTACT NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION OFFICES (NSA) TO DETERMINE WHETHER VIDEO TAPES OF SPEECHES BY THOMAS HAYDEN, 176-38 [redacted] AND PAUL KRASSNER 176-912 WERE RECORDED. IF SO, OBTAIN TAPES, DETERMINE WHO IS COMPETENT WITNESS TO AUTHENTICATE AND THEREAFTER TRANSCRIBE AND RETURN TAPES TO CONTRIBUTING SOURCES. b6 b7C

IF TAPES NOT AVAILABLE, ALL OFFICES ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY AND INTERVIEW OTHER WITNESSES SUCH AS INFORMANTS, PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE OR MEMBERS OF NEWS MEDIA WHO COULD TESTIFY TO SPEECHES WHEREIN VIOLENCE WAS ADVOCATED AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

IN THE FUTURE, COMMUNICATIONS RELATIVE TO THESE TAPES SHOULD BE SUBMITTED UNDER APPROPRIATE CASE CAPTION RATHER THAN NSA.

1 - Chicago

Make cc for 176-38 [redacted] 176-912

176-912 [redacted] b6 b7C

MP

TELETYPE TO KANSAS CITY, NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FIELD
RE: NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

INCORPORATE RESULTS OF THIS INVESTIGATION INTO EACH INDIVIDUAL CASE FILE SO ALL WILL BE COMPLETELY SELF-SUFFICIENT.

CHICAGO FURNISHED COPY BY AIR MAIL.

9/27/68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

----SAC
----ASAC
----CC
----ASST CC
----STENO SOP
----C-#1
----C-#2
----C-#3
----C-#4
----C-#5
----C-#6
----C-#7
----S-#1
----S-#2
----S-#3
----S-#4
----S-#5

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (176-253) (RUC)

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION; ARL; 00:CG

REFERENCE BUREAU TELETYPE NINE TWO SIX SIX EIGHT, IN INSTANT CAPTION AND BUREAU TELETYPE, NINE TWO SEVEN SIX EIGHT, IN CAPTION [redacted] ARL; 00:CG." b6 b7C b7D

[redacted] ADVISED SAS [redacted] AND [redacted] ON NINE TWO SEVEN INSTANT THAT ETI IS AN NSA AFFILIATE AND A SEPARATE CORPORATION AND DOES NOT OFFICIALLY PARTICIPATE AT NSA CONVENTIONS.

THE ETI SOLELY CONCERNED WITH ARRANGING STUDENT TRAVEL ABROAD, EXCHANGE STUDENTS, EMPLOYMENT, ETC. SHE STATED THAT NSA IS LOCATED AT TWO ONE ONE FIVE SOUTH STREET, WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESIDENT ROBERT POWELL. NSA HAS NO INDIVIDUAL NEW YORK OFFICE.

1 - New York
1 - Chicago (AM)
1 - Kansas City (AM)
1 - Los Angeles (AM)
1 - Supervisor #42

RFM:jaf

SEARCHED [redacted] INDEXED
SERIALIZED [redacted] FILED
SEP 30 1968
FBI - CHICAGO

[redacted] b6 b7C

9/27/68

SOURCE STATED [redacted] WAS IN ATTENDANCE AT KC CONVENTION NOT AS DELEGATE, BUT MERELY IN A [redacted] SHE IS LOCATED AT [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

SOURCE STATED NO ONE FROM NEW YORK ETI WAS IN ATTENDANCE AT NSA CONVENTION AND SHE KNOWS OF NO NYC NEWS MEDIA PERSONNEL IN ATTENDANCE. SHE HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF ANY TAPES OR WHETHER ANY TAPES WERE MADE IN CONNECTION WITH CONVENTION SPEAKERS. SOURCE STATES THIS INFORMATION MAY BE AVAILABLE AT NSA, WASHINGTON, D.C.

NO NYO INFORMANTS IN ATTENDANCE

AIR MAIL COPIES TO KANSAS CITY, CHICAGO AND LOS ANGELES.

WFO HANDLE. IN EVENT TAPES NOT EXISTENT, WFO SUTEL LA, APPROPRIATE BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO INTERVIEW ETI REPRESENTATIVE [redacted] b6 b7C

PLAINTEXT 9/24/68

TELETYPE URGENT

TO: SACS, KANSAS CITY
NEW YORK
WASHINGTON FIELD

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION; ANTIRIOT LAWS, OO: CHICAGO

RE KANSAS CITY TEL TODAY.

KANSAS CITY ADVISE BY RETURN TEL BASIS FOR BELIEVING SPEECHES OF HAYDEN, 176-38 [redacted] AND KRASSNER 176-912 REPORTEDLY TAPED BY NSA DURING CONVENTION IN MANHATTAN, KANSAS, IN AUGUST MAY CONTAIN PERTINENT INFORMATION. b6 b7C

NEW YORK AND WASHINGTON FIELD TAKE NO ACTION IN THIS MATTER UNTIL DIRECTED TO DO SO BY THE BUREAU.

ONE COPY TO CHICAGO AIR MAIL.

1 - SAC, CHICAGO (AIR MAIL)

Open 176 Elsdon

176-1262 6

Xerox copy in 176-38 [redacted] 176-912

[redacted] b6 b7C

FBI CHICAGO

FBI KAN CITY

414 PM URGENT 10/1/68 PHM

TO DIRECTOR, CHICAGO, WFO

FROM KANSAS CITY 176-3 1P

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION; ANTIRIOT LAWS. OO:CG

RE WFO TEL TO BUREAU SEPT. TWENTYSEVEN LAST.

[redacted] MANAGER, RADIO STATION KMAN, MANHATTAN, KS., ADVISES NO RECORDING MADE OF ANY SPEECH AT NSA CONVENTION. JACK DETERMINED THAT, INDEPENDENT OF ANY NSA TAPES, ONLY KNOWN RECORDING WAS OF [redacted] SPEECH BY RADIO FREE EUROPE REPRESENTATIVE, WHICH TAPE WAS FURNISHED BY KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY RADIO STATION KSAC BUT THIS TAPE ERASED SINCE OVERMODULATED AND POOR QUALITY. OTHER SOURCES ALSO NEGATIVE.

RUC

END

EOM

FBI CHICAGO

P

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

176-100

[redacted]

Best Available Copy

ASAC
CC
ASST CC
STENO SOR
C-#1
C-#2
C-#3
C-#4
C-#5
C-#7
S-#1
S-#2
S-#3
S-#4
S-#5

b6
b7C

CHICAGO 012 308 PM WLM

URGENT 9-30-63 FJB

TO DIRECTOR CHICAGO (100-18305) PLAINTEXT

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD 1P

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION, ANTITRUST LAWS, OFFICE OF ORIGIN: CHICAGO.

RECHICAGOTEL SEPTEMBER TWENTYEIGHT LAST AND NEW YORK TEL SEPTEMBER TWENTYSEVEN LAST.

[redacted] NSA, ADVISED NSA DOES NOT HAVE VIDEO REVIEWER TO DETERMINE IF TAPE OF DISCUSSION STILL EXISTS OR ITS QUALITY.

[redacted] NSA PRESIDENT, WILL NOT MAKE TAPES AVAILABLE TO WFO WITHOUT SUBPOENA TO AVOID POSSIBLE EMBARRASSMENT TO NSA AS RECEIVED IN THE PAST WITH CIA.

WFO WILL LEAVE TO DISCRETION OF CHICAGO LEAD TO HAVE [redacted] ETI, INTERVIEWED AT [redacted] AS SET FORTH IN RE NEW YORK TEL.

END

NSK

FBI CHICAGO

-SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

100-18305

[redacted]

b6
b7C

OC Tour Hwy dtd 10-30-63

176-38

b6
b7C

176-1262-8

SEARCHED KB INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
SEP 30 1963

[redacted]

10/1/68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE URGENT

TO: DIRECTOR, AND SACS WFO, KANSAS CITY, AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (176-1002)

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION; ARL, OO: CHICAGO.

RE WFO TELETYPES TO THE BUREAU, CHICAGO, KANSAS CITY, AND NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER TWENTY-SEVEN LAST, AND WFO TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND CHICAGO, SEPTEMBER THIRTY LAST.

THE MATTER REGARDING THE SUBPOENA OF NSA VIDEO TAPE WAS TAKEN UP WITH [redacted] AUSA, CHICAGO, AND SUBPOENA ISSUED THIS DATE TO BE HANDLED IN USUAL MANNER WITH U.S. MARSHAL. SUBPOENA IS RETURNABLE CHICAGO OCTOBER TEN NEXT. KANSAS CITY CONTINUE EFFORTS TO SECURE ADDITIONAL TAPES INASMUCH AS ORIGINAL SOURCE, [redacted] IS NOT SURE OF QUALITY OF TAPE AS IT WAS NOT RERUN AND IT MAY HAVE BEEN ERASED.

b6
b7C
b7D

~~1 - Bureau and SACs WFO, Kansas City, New York~~
4 - Chicago
(1 - 176-38)(THOMAS HAYDEN)
(1 - 176-1262) (NSA)
(1 - 100-18305) (NSA)
GH/ejc
(5) ejc

Searched [redacted]
Indexed [redacted]
Filed [redacted]

176-RU 2-9

Best Available Copy

- ☐ SAC
- ☐ ASAC
- ☐ CC
- ☐ ASST CC
- ☐ STENO SUP
- ☐ C-#1
- ☐ C-#2
- ☐ C-#3
- ☐ C-#4
- ☐ C-#5
- ☐ C-#7
- ☐ S-#1
- ☐ S-#2
- ☐ S-#3
- ☐ S-#4
- ☐ S-#5

CHICAGO [illegible] 7:30 P.M. CDT

DIRECT 1-A-[illegible] JJR

TO [illegible] (176-1[illegible]) (PLEASE EXPEDITE)

FROM [illegible] (176-[illegible]) 1C

[illegible] ATTEMPTED [illegible], [illegible], OFFICE OF
[illegible], CHICAGO.

[illegible] ON [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 11-06-2024 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7C

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Atlanta, Georgia
January 13, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST WAR, RACISM, AND REPRESSION (NCAWRR)

Reference is made to memorandum submitted by this office on July 27, 1970, same entitled "Emergency Action Conference, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 27 - 28, 1970," also to memorandum dated November 13, 1970, as submitted by the New York Office, same titled as is this memorandum.

On January 11, 1971, a source advised as follows:

There was a meeting of the NCAWRR held at McGiffert Hall, Chicago Theological Seminary, 5751 South Woodlawn, Chicago, Illinois, during the period of January 8 - 10, 1971. The meeting was attended by 200 or more participants.

Registration began at McGiffert Hall at 5:00 p.m. on January 8, 1971. The registration was thorough and security methods were utilized to keep unauthorized persons from attending. Each participant was furnished with an identification pass showing the organization he represented, upon completion of registration.

The conference itself started shortly after 8:00 p.m. on January 8, 1971, with Louise Peck chairing the initial session. Dave Dellinger was the keynote speaker and he

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

176-1062-12

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
INDEXED
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discussed past and current problems and the need for unity and cooperation in the anti-war movement. He stressed the idea of ending the war and of bringing a multi-issue group to bear on problems of war, repression, and racism.

Following Dellinger's speech, a group of students from National Student Association (NSA) presented to participants the concept of, and contents of, a Vietnam peace treaty which members of their organization had allegedly "hammered out" during a trip to Vietnam. Of approximately six NSA members who appeared to make up the group, three, including Dave Ifshin, spoke to the group. They indicated their intent to travel around the country to seek sponsorship of the treaty, and were promoting a national demonstration to be held in Washington, D. C., about the first part of May, 1971, same to be concerned entirely with the peace treaty.

Following the presentations, there was much discussion from the floor concerning the issue, with some participants, including Dave Dellinger, being opposed to calling the item a "treaty" rather than a "pact", "agreement", or similar name, the thought being that the making of a "treaty" with a foreign power would be illegal, and would be immediately termed by the United States Government as "illegal."

The plenary session was then broken up into various caucuses, such as separate caucuses of women, of non-whites, and with other breakdowns, to discuss the ideas presented relative to the peace treaty. These meetings lasted until about 11:30 p.m., when the session was discontinued for the day.

When only approximately 80 participants were present for the session scheduled to begin at 9:00 a.m., January 9, 1971, and with Sydney Peck chairing the session, those present were broken up into four major groups to again discuss how the peace treaty action in May, 1971, could relate to a total anti-war action in Washington at the time. However, prior to the making of any decisions in the matter, additional

participants kept arriving and the meeting went back into a plenary session at about 10:00 a.m. At this time, the non-white caucus presented to the session a tenth point which it desired to be added to the nine-point treaty which had been presented by NSA, this additional point being a statement against racism, as had been mentioned in the non-white caucus position paper made available to conference participants. There was a debate over the issue of the tenth point, same led by NSA, which did not desire any changes in the document already formulated; however, the ten-point peace treaty was finally passed by the conference over the protests of the very unhappy NSA members.

It should be noted that copies of the text of the "peace treaty" and other items connected with same are set forth in subsequent parts of this memorandum, as are copies of position papers and/or proposals prepared by various groups for the Chicago meeting, including the non-white caucus position paper, mentioned above.

Following a lunch period on Saturday, January 9, 1971, the NCAWRR meeting reconvened with a very short plenary session during which [redacted] (Socialist Workers Party) "made a pitch" for NCAWRR to unify with National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) around the April 24, 1971, national anti-war action date previously set by NPAC. [redacted] was merely thanked for his presentation, and the plea was ignored. b6 b7C

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of NPAC is included in this memorandum.

The meeting then again dissolved into four major caucuses to discuss and make proposals concerning:

(1) What the May action will be.

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(2) What issues will be dealt with aside from the peace treaty.

A plenary session was convened after the groups had had an opportunity to discuss the issues, and there appeared to be a consensus that:

(1) There should be an action during the first week of May in Washington and other parts of the nation.

(2) The Washington action should include several issues, including the peace treaty, jobs and income, repression, and other anti-war and freedom issues.

It was agreed that non-violent civil disobedience should be made an option during part of the Washington demonstrations. During discussion of this point, SWP oriented participants vociferously disagreed with the non-violent civil disobedience motif, indicating that this is not the time for such activity, that the activity should be entirely peaceful and legal, and that the anti-war movement is not prepared to have anti-war activists and participants arrested and to have to cope with the problems this would bring about. They again sought support to have NCAWRR join NPAC on April 24, 1971, instead of planning a separate May action, pleading for unity and protesting that the peace movement would be fragmented with the two different national actions being planned on separate dates; however, their arguments and pleas were again ignored.

[redacted] of National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) then briefly submitted the NWRO proposal (This proposal was later available in print and appears in subsequent paragraphs of this memorandum). b6 b7C

Cora Weiss then took the floor and reported that Women's Strike for Peace (WSP) intended to demand of President Nixon that he set a date for the end of the Vietnam war by April 30, 1971, the President to be informed that, unless this be done, WSP would converge on Washington en-masse, on May 1, 1971, and would remain there until he, Nixon, did set such a date.

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The Chicago conference agreed to support the WSP proposed action in Washington beginning on May 1, 1971, however, NCAWRR national activity will be scheduled to commence on May 5, 1971, although said NCAWRR will participate in any local and/or national anti-war activities planned for April 2, 3, and 4, 1971, in preparation for the mass action on May 5, 1971.

It should be noted that Dave Dellinger and Sidney Peck had brought out earlier at the Chicago meeting that no national action should be planned for May 1, 1971, as had been decided at the 7th Stockholm Conference of November 28 - 30, 1970 (A copy of the report on this conference, as available at the Chicago meeting, is also set forth in this memorandum). Source commented that this appeared to be a subtle method of arranging not to infringe upon the annual world-wide communist celebration on the May 1 date.

Following a dinner period on January 9, 1971, the meeting continued with a plenary session which further discussed [redacted] NWRO proposal paper. b6 b7C

The non-white caucus then presented its position paper, and there was a lengthy discussion concerning how NCAWRR could really be made a non-racist organization. Following this discussion, the women gave a report, during which they complained about male chauvinism in the anti-war movement, and made some demands, including the demand that women be adequately represented on all committees. The women indicated their desire to push for legalizing abortions and for improving health care.

During the latter part of the evening, there was further discussion relative to the specific date in May and the specific type of action to be planned for the national NCAWRR anti-war action. The general consensus was to push for a date of May 5, 1971. The evening session closed at about 11:30 p.m.

The Sunday morning, January 10, 1971, plenary session did not commence until about 9:30 a.m., since there were only about 40 participants available at 9:00 a.m. The GI caucus made its presentation, and berated

the group for not inviting any GI groups to the Chicago conference. The caucus went into a general discussion concerning how important it is to have GIs included in the anti-war movement and as signers of the peace treaty.

The Standard Oil boycott group then took the floor and was very critical of NCAWRR for not giving them any attention. This brought on some general criticism, after which Sidney Peck took the floor to remind all of the participants how important it is to keep the momentum going in the anti-war movement, and warning not to let anything come up to "rip the meeting apart."

Cora Weiss then reported on the efforts being made by the Committee of Liaison to arrange for the freeing of U. S. prisoners of war (POWs). She was very critical of the Nixon administration for allegedly making an emotional propaganda issue out of the POWs and criticized Secretary Bruce for misusing figures concerning the number of POWs in North Vietnam at the Paris peace talks. Weiss referred to the investigations being conducted relative to individuals missing in action and contended that "The POW people are becoming disgruntled with the administration's misuse of the POW plight."

A discussion was then commenced on a "proposal for continuations committee" to coordinate NCAWRR efforts in the immediate future, same listing 29 individuals and/or organizations for immediate endorsement, and recommending that additions be made to the list so that total membership would be approximately 70 to 100 persons. Discussion concerning this matter was terminated temporarily for lunch, then resumed. The proposal was attacked by Sidney Lens on the basis that it was not representative, also that it was done without the popular consent of the body. Also, [redacted] made a long impassionate attack against elitism in the group, and called for a general conference-wide selection of a committee. b6 b7C

Although other proposals were discussed, it was finally decided to endorse, as a beginning of a coordinate committee which would eventually have approximately 70 to 100 members, the prepared list of 29 individuals and/or

organizations for a "Continuations Committee", this list said to have been drawn from information available to NCAWRR with respect to both interest and commitment to the "Spring Offensive", which had been the substance of the Chicago meeting. The proposal adopted indicated that representation of the "Continuations Committee" would be increased as regions and local areas got together and elected one representative each to supplement the list which was endorsed, this list being as follows:

[redacted]
Dave Ifshin

[redacted]
Representative of Chicago Peace Council

[redacted]
Cora Weiss

[redacted]
David McReynolds
Representative of Southern Christian Leadership Conference

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b7C

It was decided that the first meeting of the Continuations Committee will be held at Detroit, Michigan, on January 30 - 31, 1971.

An "Administrative Committee" of approximately seven persons, including Tom Hayes, [redacted] and [redacted] was also selected to act in the capacity of an executive committee to make decisions, make interim contacts, arrange meetings, and attempt to raise funds between planned monthly Continuations Committee meetings.

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It was finally agreed, principally in the interest of unity, not to confirm May 5 as the date for the NCAWRR national action, although from all indications this will be the date finally settled upon. The nature of the national action was also left for further deliberation of the Continuations Committee, although it has apparently been definitely decided to utilize

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non-violent civil disobedience in some phase of the action, following a training-type program to minimize the possibility of violence. The SWP representatives in NCAWRR will be notified of the decision to utilize this motif and of the definite decision not to join NPAC on April 24, 1971, and will be invited to cooperate with NCAWRR if they so desire.

The source advised that the following listed individuals were among those in attendance at the meeting:

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[redacted] (Liberation)
[redacted] (National Coalition)
[redacted] (Clergy and Laymen Concerned)
Cora Weiss (Women's Strike for Peace)
Sid Peck (New Mobe)
[redacted] (Communist Party)(CP)
[redacted] (NUC)
[redacted] (World Peace Council)
Dave Ifshin (NSA)
[redacted] (Seattle Conspiracy)
[redacted] (Women)
[redacted] (United Servicemen's Fund)
[redacted] (WSP)
[redacted] (War Tax Resistance)
[redacted] (District 65, National Council of Distributive Workers)
[redacted] (SWP)
[redacted] (NWRO)
Jane Fonda
[redacted] (SSEU-371)
[redacted] (Buffalo Peace Coalition)
[redacted] (Fellowship of Reconciliation)
[redacted] (Illinois Director of Shoe Workers)
[redacted] (Non-Violent Training and Action Center)
David McReynolds (Clergy and Laymen Concerned)
[redacted]
Sidney Lens
[redacted] (CP)
[redacted] (CP)
[redacted] (CP, St. Louis)
[redacted] (SWP)
Tom Hayes (Peace Parade Committee, New York City)
[redacted]

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In commenting concerning participants at the Chicago meeting, source advised as follows:

There appeared to be a number of people present who were associated with either the SWP or CP, however, the SWP associates were politely ignored and CP representatives took little or no part in carrying the discussions at the conference, or in shaping the conference itself.

[redacted] was described as an "outspoken radical" who appeared to be very militant and who wore a Viet Cong pin. b6 b7C

[redacted] was described as an "older white female" from [redacted] who appeared to be closely associated with [redacted]

Relative to NWRO, it was indicated that said organization is $135,000 in debt, and that it is an absolute necessity that NWRO cooperate with NCAWRR to have any chance of getting their program of April, 1971, "off the ground." The NWRO program for April, 1971, is planned in conjunction with the period of commemoration during the Dr. Martin Luther King assassination anniversary.

Further observations of the source in connection with the Chicago conference are as follows:

The Chicago meeting of January 8 - 10, 1971, was almost an exact duplication in some forms of the issues and debates which occurred at the Milwaukee Emergency Action Conference held by the New Mobilization Committee in late June of 1970. It was obvious that no real progress had been made toward developing a real coalition in the interim between the Milwaukee and Chicago meetings.

It is evident that [redacted], as [redacted] of NCAWRR, is merely a "figure head," and the real decision-making body of NCAWRR is the same group which ran the Milwaukee conference. b6 b7C

Significant by their absence were [redacted] and [redacted] It was obvious that the role of

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[redacted] and [redacted] has increased considerably, also that [redacted] and [redacted] are still quite active. b6 b7C

[redacted] and [redacted] are still extremely influential and important in the decision-making role which went into the calling of the Chicago conference.

[redacted] of NWRO was the only black with any national potential who was present at the Chicago meeting, it being noted likewise that there was a significant absence of any representatives of Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

"Repression of the Panthers" and [redacted] were frequently mentioned during the course of the Chicago conference, however, there was no programmatic design to deal with their plight. b6 b7C

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is included in this memorandum.

The CP representatives were present in a larger number at Chicago than there had been at Milwaukee, and there was little or no activity on their part in shaping the conference or in carrying discussions to the floor.

The SWP was better represented at the Chicago conference than would be normally expected. They had more participants and more nationally prominent organizers. These individuals were present to lobby for their April 24, 1971, date for a national anti-war demonstration, and for their inclusion in NCAWRR; however, they got nowhere to speak of, were politically ignored, and were obviously disgruntled.

It was evident that Women's Liberation forces were much in evidence at the conference; however, they were somewhat more moderate and reasonable in their demands than they have been at previous conferences. There was more Puerto Rican participation in the non-white caucus, very little Indian participation, and only one Vietnamese student was known to be present.

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The Chicago group seemed to be as disjointed in its basic perspective as it had been in Milwaukee, with several power struggles going on, these including the SWP faction and a very weak CP group. It was widely admitted that there is no basic constituency back of the peace groups, whose paid organizers make up the "power elite" of the coalition. Pacifist groups predominated in the leadership of the Chicago conference, with [redacted] David McReynolds, [redacted] and [redacted] being the strongest advocates of peaceful non-violent social change. b6 b7C

The group was strengthened very little by students from the mass of student protest types, and the NSA delegation added mainly the discussion of the peace treaty and its potential.

Source said he believes the possibility of marshaling an effective anti-war effort as a result of the Chicago conference is "slim" because of the disjointed and disparate elements seeking to coalese, because of the extreme shortage of money in view of the massive debts which some of the groups have amassed, and due to the problem of the anti-war movement being splintered by the SWP motif. There is some doubt as to whether the NSA peace treaty motif can be made an important forthcoming anti-war effort; however, many of the people backing the national coalition are very dedicated to ending the war and to ending what they feel are tactics of repression against minorities. The final question of whether a successful action can be built as a result of the Chicago conference lies in how much mobilization of resentment against the war and present problems in society they can garner or engage between the time of the conference and April 2, 3, and 4, 1971.

Following is a copy of a "radical statement" prepared by David McReynolds, War Resisters League, at the request of the Steering Committee for the Chicago conference, which statement was available to all participants prior to the conference and was meant to acquaint them beforehand with problems to be dealt with and goals to be sought during the conference:

CHICAGO MEMO, January 8-10 David McReynolds, War Resisters League

There is a tendency for us to approach Chicago - and the whole question of "the movement" - as if we were adding various movements together artificially, trying to gain strength by building up a fragile coalition that would hold together by scratching each other's backs from time to time. Ie., "you show up at our demonstrations and we'll show up at yours".

There are two large and serious movements in the country today, organized to act as movements. One is the peace movement, almost entirely white and middle class, and concerned primarily with ending the war in Vietnam. This is a movement of whites, not of white racists, but it is absolutely correct that the majority of those in the peace movement are primarily concerned, now, with the question of war and not with the plight of blacks, of poverty, etc. Regardless of any decisions reached here, and regardless of the exceptional persons within the peace movement who try to relate their own lives "across the board" to the range of liberation movements, I do not think groups such as the AFSC, FOR, WRL, CALCAV, WISP, etc., are going to put much of their time or energy into walking on welfare picket lines.

The other movement is largely "Third World" and largely working class, and includes welfare rights groups, SCLC, the Panthers, the UFW, etc. This is not a pro-war movement, but it is not primarily concerned with the war, but with organizing farm workers, securing decent payments to those on welfare, defending the needs of the Third World groups against the very real oppressions of our society. While the war in Vietnam is evil enough, rats and lead poisoning and police brutality and the conditions of the ghetto take a much heavier toll of Third World groups than combat in Vietnam. Regardless of any decisions reached here, and regardless of exceptional persons with these groups (such as Cesar Chavez and the late Martin Luther King) I doubt very much that this movement as a whole is going to put much of their time and energy into joing white middle class peace demonstrations.

(I leave out of this discussion for reasons of space the host of other liberation groups and movements, Women's Lib, Gay Lib, the "counter culture" of students and youth,

the ecology movement, etc. This is done because the groups here at Chicago will represent primarily the movements against the war and the movements associated with the poor, and with Third World elements.)

If we approach this conference with what I feel is the artificial assumption that we can build a movement by simply adding one group to another, hoping to gain strength in numbers, then if such a coalition becomes too strong, it can always be dissolved at any time by the government, and not through something as clumsy and difficult to enforce as prepression, but by granting the demands of one group or the other. If the peace movement is committed only to peace, then Nixon can end the war and thereby dissolve that movement, dissolve the basis of the coalition, and leave the welfare workers and Third World groups without their white allies. If the other side of the coalition is committed, for example, only to $5500, then if that demand is granted the peace movement would find itself alone.

I want to argue that our movement has become "multi-issue" not as an artificial way of building a coalition, not because the white peace movement is afraid of being "race-baited" if it doesn't give lip service to Third World demands, and not because the poor are so desperate for allies they will settle for a coalition with white liberals and radicals in the peace movement, but because not one of our interests can be resolved without tackling a range of problems. What we have in Chicago is not a momentary joining of two quite different movements, each seeking tactical advantage, but a meeting of two groups within a common movement, a movement which is beginning to realize that America has to undergo radical social change if we are to cease, as a nation, terrorizing the world and oppressing our own people.

If we are confused and fumbling, if our progress since "Milwaukee I" has been chaotic, it is because we have reached a new stage in our development and have not yet worked through the implications. Let me speak primarily about the way in which whites have been educated, because I know a good deal more about that than the development of the welfare struggle, the black community, etc.

On the war itself our education was very slow. We assumed at first that Vietnam was an accident, a mistake, something which could be cleared up by a wider sharing of information. The whole early period of the "Teach-Ins" was designed not only to educate the public, but also to reach out and help educate government officials. The war was so horrible, so senseless from any human point of view, so alien to what we thought of as "American values" that we could not believe it had been, in large part, a conscious act of policy carried out by liberal Democrats (Kennedy, Johnson, Humphrey, Ball, McNamara, Rusk, Rostow, the Bundy brothers). U.S. involvement in Vietnam began in 1946, with arms aid to France. It began more directly in 1956 with direct support to Diem. It began very formally in the early sixties under Kennedy. Now, finally, 24 years after our first involvement, the peace movement has been educated to the fact that the war was not an accident, but an experiment in technocratic imperialism, the effort to maintain America's world position against emerging social revolutions by the application of sophisticated technology in a series of "brush-fire" wars. (Let it be noted that it was not the force of "world Communism" that worried planners as much as the threat of losing control of the resources of Asia, Africa and Latin America to the people who lived there.) If there was any "mistake" in U.S. policy it was that it underestimated the power of Vietnamese nationalism and the willingness of the Vietnamese to absorb terrible losses in order to achieve control of their own country. It is no secret that many liberals who now oppose the war do so only because - as McNamara might have put it - " it has exceeded its cost estimate". But it is also true that many, many liberals have been driven toward radicalism - particularly among the youth - because they now understand that even "America at its best" - ie., Kennedy liberalism as opposed to the policies of a Nixon - is a murderous system in its foreign relations, and that even if the war in Vietnam ended tomorrow it would, in a different form, occur somewhere else in the world.

The radicalization of American white liberals on the war question has also come about because we have seen, very directly, that the system under which we live is not responsive to democratic pressures, no matter how they are expressed (ie., through demonstrations,

elections, teach-ins, etc.) We have learned that to "work within the system" means to accept, in advance, our defeat and to concede the right of the political establishment to manipulate us.

It is therefore unlikely that, even with the end of the war, the "peace movement" will vanish. It would vanish, of course, as a Vietnamese peace movement, just as draft resistance will collapse when the draft is repealed, but events have lifted many, many thousands and even tens of thousands of white liberals from a moral concern with a particular war to the level of a moral and political concern with a system that produces one war after the other. For many of us the desire to work with blacks or welfare groups is not just a desire to end this war, nor a guilty white conscience, but an awareness that we need allies for a much longer and tougher struggle - one against the system itself.

If we look at the Civil Rights movement as it first developed, there is no question that white liberals were involved - as at first with Vietnam - only out of conscience. Blacks who charged that white students could always put on their white skins and take a vacation from the struggle were entirely correct, even if the comment was insensitive to the courage involved when people got involved in troubles they could have avoided altogether.

But something very new has been happening in the last ten years, and if it has driven some whites into reactionary positions it has driven others into an awareness that for their own self-interest they must resolve the status of Third World groups in this country. Ten years ago integration was a goal shared by all white liberals and most black leaders and it meant something that would heppen down there - in the South. Today very few black leaders cite integration as the goal, but are concerned with achieving political and economic power for blacks. This militancy has meant that the ghetto is simply no longer willing to be contained and, in a society where the system cannot offer any legitimate way out of the ghetto, ie., decent jobs; and where the system is not willing to share power, ie., the UFT position against community school control in New York; and where, when blacks do achieve political power as in Newark, they find the city so impoverished by the flight

of middle income whites that there is no real tax base left to support any of the necessary expansions of social services and such programs as decent housing - when these things occur there is either the rise of disciplined radical groups such as the Panthers, or the spread of social alienation through heroin addiction and crime. The problem of crime in the urban areas is very real and it is not a problem of "Black crime" but of crimes committed by the unemployed and alienated who, in this case, happen to be black.

Suddenly white liberals find that the "race question" is not just a moral issue involving bigoted Southerners, but an issue which, if unresolved, will make "our" cities (ie., cities run by whites) into black areas with whites in full flight to the suburbs. Look at some of the examples of urban breakdown in the North, as in New York City, where in ten years we have seen cops put on every subway train, buses switched over to "exact-fare", and taxis installing "Locked boxes"; where we have seen neroin addiction take the lives of more teenagers in New YOrk City in the past six months than of New Yorkers killed in Vietnam in the same period; where we have seen police called in to act as permenent parts of the school system.

Granted that many white liberals have defected to the "law and order" line of Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell, they will discover that in the long run no amount of money spent on cops can bring a sense of social peace - it only takes away funds that must be used finally to deal with urban breakdown. (Another - and by far the most dramatic - example of urban breakdown is seen in the police/court/prison system. Even if that system worked it would be open to heavy criticism as inhuman, anti-democratic, and a method of keeping poor people in line. But the system does not work at all now. Very few crimes result in arrest. Those who are arrested wait in jail without trial for periods of six months to a year unless they can make bail, which many of them cannot, so that we already have "preventive detention". Fifty-two percent of all those now in our jails have not been convicted of a crime! Conditions within the jails of New York City are, as Dave Dellinger has pointed out, certainly far worse than conditions for captured U.S. flyers in North Vietnam. NOw the repeated jail rebellions have proven that the system cannot even keep

order in its own jailhouse! And this, despite continued increase of police powers and police budgets.)

Therefore if white liberals are concerned today with matters of welfare payments, addiction, unemployment in the ghettos, community control of schools, etc., it is no longer because of conscience alone, but because the problems that have always haunted the thetto now touch the once-secure white neighborhoods. Unless we want to move to Vermong or the forests of Oregon we can no longer, as whites, put on our skin and take a vacation. We will join the Third World in solving this problem because unless it is solved we - our white society - will be torn apart.

I've taken time to suggest how whites have been driven by hard education and material circumstance to deepen their awareness of the fact that something very central is wrong with our society. Let me, much more briefly - because it is an area where others, more experienced, should speak - suggest how those not in the peace movement find themselves involved with our struggle to break the power of the Pentagon.

Social workers concerned solely with heroin addiction, and eager to avoid getting involved in anything "controversial" that would endanger their work, now have to face the problem of Vietnam veterans who are getting addicted in Vietnam in very large numbers and are coming home with the monkey already on their backs. (I don't even need to mention in detail, because it is so obvious, the relationship between the unemployment and alienation of the ghetto and the use of heroin there.)

The United Farm Workers didn't set out to fight the Pentagon but simply to organize the farm workers. Their target was not the Pentagon, nor capitalism - it was the growers. But one finds that in the grape strike the Pentagon increased its purchases of grapes to keep the growers going, and now, during the lettuce strike, the Pentagon has increased by 300% its purchases of lettuce from But Antle, Inc., a grower with Dow Chemical.

The original Civil Rights movement, back in the strangely dim days of the late fifties and early sixties, didn't have "the system" as its target - just Jim Crow. But it turned out that even if Blacks could eat in the best restaurants it didn't do much good if

they had no money. The poor, Black and white, are trapped in poverty because the job market is shrinking even while inflation rises, and our national resources are not directed into the areas which could produce high levels of employment - construction of schools, roads, hospitals, housing - but into those areas where technical skills are required and few jobs are generated for untrained workers - the space program and the development of sophisticated weapons systems. The demand of the peace movement for cutting Pentagon funds is linked to demands from the poor that funds be allocated to social needs.

Even if we turn to the white middle class non-radical and non-peace elements that are concerned with ecology, they are discovering that while every corporation says they want environmental controls, no corporation can afford, under capitalism, to initiate such controls in its own economic area. We are now learning what it means to defoliate and destroy a land as we have done in Vietnam. Those who were never too concerned with the massive terror inflicted on the Vietnamese now observe that our vaunted free enterprise system is poisoning us, as well, polluting the air, debasing our foods, destroying our lakes and rivers. Thus even this most politically conservative of movements, which counts among its supporters James Buckley, New York's new Senator, finds itself torn between its goal of conservation of the ecology and its traditional defense of private enterprise. Americans can have one or the other, but not both.

It has now become clear to a very large number of Americans that the American system has gone beserk. Once it oppressed only Indians or Blacks or Chicanos or poor whites, and its inhumanity was safely hidden from most of us. After all, we told ourselves, there is always a little suffering as the price of progress, and as long as we didn't pay the price who complains? But now . . . this structure of "free enterprise" is chewing up human lives in Vietnam, driving young Blacks and poor whites to enlist and re-enlist in the military because they can find no civilian employment, destroying our own environment, and driving us toward a police state in which, in the name of security, no man or woman would be secure in their own homes against entry, search, seizure, and the danger of jail without bail.

Very few Americans derive their power from this madness and therefore very few Americans have a vested interest in seeing it continue. These few include the leaders of the corporate structures, the generals in the Pentagon, the scientists who will sell themselves to the highest bidder, trade union leaders such as George Meaney, and the political figures who serve as the public defenders of this relatively small group.

Unhappily there are a great many Americans who are suffering terribly from the present system (the George Wallace supporters - lower income whites) but who find some comfort in the Nixon-Agnew lines that the way to deal with unemployment, inflation, war, and personal misery is to beat up kids with long hari. (We will come back to this group later.)

Finally there is a large group - not a majority by any means, but a large and articulate body of citizens, middle class and poor, white and black, young and old, who no longer believe in the system, and who are demanding that it be radically changed to make it human, responsive, demoncratic. This group already partly understands and must come increasingly to understand that the problems we face cannot be resolved without fundamental social change. We cannot set in motion radical social change for one group alone. We cannot be liberated "one group at a time". If what America needs is a social revolution, a "1776" in order to avoid a 1984, then our coalition is not simply a fragile and temporary series of alliances. I submit that, whether it happens here in Chicago or at a future time, we should stop talking about an "antiwar coalition", or a "coalition against war, racism and repression" and begin talking about an emerging <u>American coalition</u>.

Even though I am personally a socialist, I avoid here - and urge others to avoid - any quick spelling out of what exactly we want by radical social change. Some demands are obvious - we need adequate welfare payments now; we need community control of schools and police now; we need massive cuts in the Pentagon budget now; we need some form of democratic social control over corporations now. But even if we were all socialists we should have enough common sense to realize that socialism in this country would look vastly different from similar experiments in Cuba, Sweden, England, Russia, etc.

It is also true that the enormous complexity of our technological society, with its cybernation, computer banks, etc., will force us to open our heads, whether we are New Left, Old Left, or simply concerned and troubled Americans, to totally new forms of economic organization. The one thing that is clear is that this country must end its pattern of economic imperialism which has so deeply warped the lives of hundreds of millions in other countries, and must curb the power of the military-scientific-corporate structure which has left the great mass of Americans, frustrated, impoverished, and powerless.

CONCLUSIONS

This statement or memo is not the "draft" of a radical statement I had agreed to prepare - that proved impossible and needs to be taken up by a special committee. It is simply a memo suggesting a more affirmative view of our coalition, and giving some of the reasons for that view. I think what will unite us is not running from one rally to another, "you come to mine, I'll go to yours", but a realization that, across the board, our actions, demonstrations, etc., have a certain common denominator. I do not expect large numbers of blacks to pour out for an "anti-draft week" action set up by the white peace movement. Nor should welfare groups expect large numbers of middle class peace folks to show up in their picket lines. A serious coalition means more than that - it means that middle class whites introduce the problems of the poor into their own movements, and that blacks, welfare groups, etc., introduce into their movements some analysis of the oppressive role of the Pentagon and the relationship between the "warfare state" and the problem s of the poor. Three concrete examples of what I mean. First, the massive Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles was effective precisely because it was an expression from the Chicano community, rather than a response by Chicanos to a middle class peace demonstration. Second, I think blacks might well demonstrate at a recruiting station or an induction center, not primarily to protest the war, but to protest an economic system which provides so few jobs for black youth that they were driven to enlist to kill and be killed half a world away; the focus being on the murderous aspects of the system as it related to the ghetto, not just to the horror of the war itself. Third, I think

middle class whites, particularly such professionals as ministers, lawyers, professors, etc., all of whom have additional [redacted]es to pay on April 15th, should [redacted]e strongly and nationally encouraged by the peace groups to withhold $10 to $25 of their tax, to pool those tax "withholdings" in each community, and in a public ceremony with press and TV present, contribute the lump sum to a community program which need funding and where the money could be going if it were not for the war economy. In Seattle the money might go to a day care center for working mothers, in Denver it might go to help pay for a Chicano organizer, in Chicago it could go to a Panther breakfast program - the list of possibilities is endless, and it would be a dramatic way of saying to the whole people "look, by this massive civil disobedience against the federal government we are showing how our tax funds could be used. We are taking this money out of the hands of the government directly and placing it in the hands of the community".

Building an American coalition, a PEople's coalition, or whatever term we use, will require that we give up radical rhetoric and develop instead a radical program. Nixon isn't going to be moved by quotations from Mao, nor chants about Ho Chi Minh, any more than Mao won by quoting Lenin to Chinese peasants, or Ho won by quoting Mao to the Vietnamese. People are won to programs that make sense, that offer some hope of solving problems. Too often our slogans reflect our lack of power, our frustration - as with the slogan "power comes from the barrel of a gun", which is an inept slogan when we as a movement do not have the guns and the police and army do have them. (In any case I would suggest Mao didnt win power with his guns but with his programs, his ideas, and for any section of the movement to be drawn into a glorification of guns as a substitute for programs and ideas is hardly a tribute to Mao.)

We have to realize also that if we think we already have problems within the movement on things like racism, male chauvinism, anti-homosexuality, hostility to the youth culture, drugs, etc., that those problems will become worse as the movement becomes stronger. This is because the whole group of George Wallace "red neck" voters are among the most oppressed elements of the nation and part of their response to Wallace is because of his

pseudo-Populist style. They need to be brought into a relationship with our coalition. To write off this group as Amerikans and to make them into the enemy is to help the present system keep us divided between poor white, poor blacks, and middle class whites. If we succeed in building a broader and deeper movement we are going to have to be very patient with each other.

Two last points. I understand well enough why some have given up all hope of achieving change without violence. I won't make any of the usual pacifist arguments here, nor even the tactical arguments that should be heard (on both counts Dave Dellinger spoke clearly and well in the fall issue of Liberation). My only statement is that almost everyone, even if they think violence may be inevitable, would like to see the changes come without violence. I suggest that a broad American coalition operating outside the present political framework gives us a chance to achieve change without a bloody civil war that would leave everything in a shambles and would mean more poverty for the poor, no matter who ended up with the power. Let the experiment be made, therefore, without the rhetoric of violence.

And last, we concentrate too much, sometimes, on our own immediate oppressions. Yes, we are oppressed, but no homosexual or woman or poor white can persuade me that his or her oppression equals that of the Vietnamese parents holding a dead child. A weak movement is built by pooling our collective hatreds and focusing on our individual oppressions and ignoring the energy that comes from compassion one for another, making us brothers and sisters despite all our faults. It is out of fashion, perhaps, to quote Martin Luther King, but I think he had hold of a very revolutionary truth - of an effective organizing tool - when he said that liberating black AMericans would also liberate white Americans. The system of oppression, of violent coercive power, destroys not only us who are oppressed, but also those who do the oppression.

NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST WAR, RACISM, AND REPRESSION (NCAWRR)

Following are copies of position papers and/or proposals as prepared by:

Nonviolent Training and Action Center, Chicago;
NWRO;
The "Non-White Caucus" at the Chicago national coalition meeting;
International Boycott of Standard Oil Committee;
The "GI Caucus" at the Chicago national coalition meeting.

Also included are proposals entitled "May Action," with no submitting organization being specified.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN SCHEDULE

This is the beginnining of developing a schedule for a nation wide movement with action in cities across the nation and in Washington, and many activities could be added as we work on developing this campaign. We need both massive acts of draft resistance and civil disobedience. We need to find dynamic ways to relate to the issues of welfare and the struggle for a minimum income.

JANUARY & FEBRUARY

1. Begin massive cirrculation of the SHOWDOWN resistance statement and educational program
2. Petition campaign with people and groups setting up meetings to discuss the PEOPLES PEACE TREATY, sending groups of clergy, politicians, students, women, businessmen, academics to Paris to discuss a peace treaty with the Vietnamese representatives--DRVN, PRG, and Buddhists. Get congregations, denominational bodies, civic groups, labor unions etc. to radify the peace treaty.
3. Develop the organization for the campaign--local, regional, national
4. Begin to talk to allies and find out how much organizational resources they are willing to put into the campaign. Form a committee to do this.
5. Hold a number of strategy sessions around the country using some of the training tools--strategy game, strategy analysis, extended role plays, scenerio writing--to develop local and national strategy and actions from the people who are going to carry out the actions and organize the campaign. Attempting to find a national consensus on the campaign from the grass roots.
6. Begin a NEWSLETTER and find one group to put it out--perhaps NECNVA, or CADRE, or Berkeley Peace Brigade, or Clergy & laymen, or another group.
7. call some regional conferences for students and faculty to begin developing the ideas for a radical university with theory/training/action/reflection courses to swing into gear during the student strike in May.
8. At the end of February hold a national conference on the draft and pull together the various scenerio ideas from the strategy sessions during Jan. & Feb. Some things to emphasize at the coufenrnce would be that we need to develop both legal and civil disobedience action and that we need people to be working on all levels or elements of the campaign simultaneously. We must be care ful not to organize actions which trick people into civil disobiedence or police attack. People need to know what they are getting into ane be trained for the various legal and civil disobedience participation in any demonstration or campaign. Many people are affraid that they might get tricked into something they are not wanting to get into. We will need to prepare people for dealing with police provocateurs and with the repression that is bound to come when we get into motion and begin to be a real threat to the draft, the war, and the military and the power they and the MIC have in this country.
9. Begin organizing and training on college and University campuses in Washington area.
10. Teach-ins in Feb. & Mar. conducted by the draft counseling network. Held on campuses, churches, and in the community.
11. Active communication between the training centers and projecting the development of the training program.

MARCH

1. Develop training and organizing around the scenerios developed during the decentralized democratic strategy session in Jan. & Feb. and begin a training program around the country.
2. The SHOWDOWN, peace treaty, and teach-ins continue.
3. Training program and conferences to implement the radical university ideas developed Feb,
4. Begin education and organization in high schools in the Washington area.
5. Begin organizing in high schools around the country with assemblies, teach-ins, draft counseling, and non-registration campaign and pledges.

6. Local actions to begin testing style, organization, discipline, local responce.
7. Find creative ways to highlight those areas where about 50% ofthe guys are not showing up for induction.
8. Mid- or late March, begi[redacted] march from Toronto or the Pea[redacted] Bridge in Buffalo to Washington with statements of exiled resistors and their peace treaty.
9. Tiing into and helping organize for the April 4 (?) actions on racism, poverty, and repression SCLC will be organizing.

TIL

1. Continue the efforts on SHOWDOWN, peace treaty, teach-ins, high school and college organizing. Training around the country continues and intensifies.
2. Newsletter begins coming out weekly.
3. Tie in military spending and killing of poor people in Vietnam in the USA on April 4 SCLC march and activities.
4. Intensify the efforts to educate and organize radical university courses and building sentiment for the student strike.
5. Training of collectives as they arrive in Washington starting around the middle of month.
6. Visiting and lobbying with Congressmen and Senators as well as other government officials on our goals for the campaign. Beginning the middle of the month intensely.
7. Begin small demonstrations in Washington. Street Speaking, guerrilla theater, rallies in street, and leafletting throughout the Washington area.
8. Local activity and actions around the country begin building and lots of people doing the above in #7 preparing the population around the country for the more visible and civil disobedience aspects of the campaign.

MAY

1. Both civil disobedience and all kinds of legal action throughout the country, and the vaious actions mentioned on page 6 "local scenerio".
2. Begin nonviolent direct civil disobedience actions in Washington May first, one year after the invasion of Cambodia. See the "Washington DC scenerio" section page 6.
3. Student strike on May 4 for the rest of the year. The radical university swings into full gear with action courses and activities in all the communities in the nation. Some of the striking students would come to Washington and some would work in their own communities.
4. Some unions might strike, some churches and shurch office might close until the draft ends Some businesses might close. Perhaps organize a one day a week work stoppage.

We should read about the women sufferage movement strategy and tactics in Washington DC in the nineteen teens when they were disrupted Washington and Congress and fasted in jail.

By the first part of January, I shall have writen an outline for strategy sessions and Brian Yaffe and I are working on a general manual for training for the spring which should be available by the end of January. (Brian is with the OPCC in NYC).
This is presented as a working draft to stimulate ideas and discussion within the anti-war and peace movement for the direction of the scenerio for our spring action. I invite comments, suggestions, critisms, and some idea of what you or your organization might be willing to do on such a scenerio as we develop it, and evaluate resources.

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12/16/70

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS ORGANIZATION

January 9, 1971

TO: January Peace Conference, January 8-10

FROM: [redacted] National Welfare Rights Organization UFW

b6
b7C

RE: Proposal April 2, 3, 4 Solidarity Action

As a brief summary of the proposed conference call between [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] the situation is, it has not occured. The situation is one of contacting all the parties involved and having them discuss the April Action at a time that is mutually feasible. The result is the conference call had not been completed.

It is with the knowledge of this that I am submitting to this action proposal April 2, 3, 4. I would like to make you aware that the proposal in no way represents a final and binding program of NWRO, SCLC, OR UFW, but is a structural program to be agreed upon by all three parties later. This, however, is the position of NWRO and embodies many of the questions at SCLC and UFW are concerned with also. In order for the NWRO to participate in the April2-4th action in a meaningful role the following questions must be answered:

1. Who is going to finance this action and how?
2. Who will coordinate the action?
3. What kind of committment does the coalition stand ready to make and live up to?

These are very real questions to the NWRO leadership and they feel that the peace movement is long overdue in living up to their past committments to the NWRO.

NWRO's proposal deals not only with April 2-4th but the program is geared to go beyond a set date which insures a committment beyond a two and a half month period.

The national action will be a tribute to the late Dr. King and his efforts to attain social justice. The theme will carry over to many more specific points which are directly or indirectly a cause of the need for social justice. Examples of these points are hunger, amlnutrition, racism, and the goals of adequate income.

All the related issues to the need for social justice can be encompassed in this action, while at the same time calling for a serious look at our priority systems in this country. We call for a national boycott of schools and urge students to participate in regional actions related to this proposal. There will be major demonstrations on this weekend on issues relevant to local welfare rights organizations and their action calendars.

There are many methods for the implementation of this action and the following is the way that NWRO sees this happening. The Peace delegates will upon leaving this conference initiate co coontacts with localwelfare rights org's to plug into their action calendars. There will be established regional operations to coordinate and hook up peace groups with poor peoples organizatioon in their area. There is to be an active participation on state level with the goal of defeating the Nixon family assistance plan through lobbying and demonstrating at state legislatures.

The WRO has presently four programs that will be part and parcel of the overall program of developing towards 4/2-4th. These four programs are: hunger walks, speakers bureau, fast, campus tours. These programs will be utilized inthe following manner.

a. Hunger walks will be the unifying call for the solidarity weekend. The theme of walks against hunger can be used as a blanket and can be directly related to walks against racism, repression, and for the most massive parts of the action for April and will be the socil unifying effort for the weekend.
ustice.

b. The speakers bureau of NWRO will serve as the inforamation and educational arm during the organizational period prior to the solidarity weekend. The bureau is made up of 25 NWRO members. There are approximately 17 leadership positions and the rest are key staff who have specifality in cerfain fields. These individuals will be available to travel and speak in different regions in order to set up regional operational centers and to educate groups in those areas.

c. Fasts will be initiated throughout the time period of the solidarity weekend, and all the funds will be given over to NWRO. This program is called Living on the Welfare Budget--Living on $1600 a year, which is modeled after the Nixon family assistance plan.

d. Campus Tours.
thhe campus tours is the NWRO fund raising program which will go into campuses and cities and put on benefit concerts for the poor. The program consists of from 30-35 entertainers who have committed their services to NWRO for at least one benefit onc benefit concert between January and September of this year. This we see as part of fund raising time for the action and the related activities for this time period.

The proceding has been the approach towards the general structure of the National Action around Solidarity In Tribute to Martin LutherKing, on April 2nd and 4th. I will repeat once again that this is not an action proposal that has been agreed upon by the three partieies of the conference call, but it is indeed the major emphasis under which the NWRO would be willing to go into the structure around the solidarity weekend. For further questions or information call [redacted] Or you can write to the NWRO, 1419 H Street, North West, Washington, D.C. 20005. b6 b7C

CONFIDENTIAL

NON-WHITE' _ CAUCUS POSITION PAPER

Since the first conference in June to start what later became the Natic[illegible] Coaliton, People of Color have waited time and against for the concept of coalition to have real meaning. We agreed that our movement had to deve-lop more concern for the domestic problems of War, Racism, and Repression

We are saying that somethings are not clear to the people here who desire a coalition. People of color here are opposed to the war; however, we feel that in order to fight a successful struggle to end the racist war at the source (In America). We understand that the Vietnamese have one way of dealing with racist imperialism. People of Color feel that a strong fight for economic and social justice is the way that struggle should be waged in America.

We have seen several projects initiated by the National Coalition and people around it. We do not feel that any of these projects have been relevent to people of Color. The projects are not movement concepts and fail to even get the traditional peace people interested. We have waited through two national meetings and many interim meetings for than the question of the Indo Chinese War to be taken up. Never has real concern given to the plight and struggle of the poor and oppressed.

The last major demonstration call by NCAWRR illustrated the contemptuous way the Anti-War Forces deal with the very question of survival for oppressed people. Out of the many people involved in the formation of the NCAWRR, few supported that action and many more were out in the open against it!s creation. What was called as a national show of protest turned into a second class demonstration.(Genocide Action -UN 11/21/70)

People of Color watch anti-war forces mobilize to organize a national and international boycott against Standard Oil, while our Brother Ceasar Chavez goes to jail boycotting the Industrial-Military complex. We feel that it is downright insanity for any progressive forces to believe they can leave all the major problems American face --and talk seriously about the Indo-Chinese situation and about international and national boycott.

Thinking that the American people will respond. The fact Ceasar Chavez [illegible] can got to jail fighting the industrial-military complex and no one sees his fight as a major struggle to be waged here at home. We question the eyesight of these coalition leaders and people of color will never join hands in true brotherhood with whites until this fault is corrected. The degree that this realization about struggle is made, this coalition would find that in the on going struggle for justice many issues are clearly interrelated. A & P uses scab lettuce, Operation Breadbasket is organizing nationally to boycott A&P, while A&P violates welfare recipients on the day they set the welfare recipient on the day they get the welfare check, many stores across the nation raise their prices. Here clearly we have major groups of oppressed people coming together to struggle against the major enemy to life, racist exploitation. For us not to understand this and place this struggle on a second class basis is for us not to understand the racist nature of American

imperialism in Indo China. We continue to be part of the problem that divide us and not about unity in struggle

We feel a need to say these carefully thought out points, for it is our desire to have a movement of brothers and not individuals, A REAL COALITION.

Our aim in presenting these criticisms is to condemn those who see NCAWRR as a "White-Anti-war" movement with some Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican "observers". To condemn any effort to place the Domestic issues of racism and repression as secondary. To condemn any "coalition" where Blacks, Chicano, Puerto Ricans, Indains and Asians are not on an equal level with Whites. Where the demands we feel sharpest are mechanically and chauvinistically stuck on at the end or put on paper and not acted on in life.

We are for real unity. If we can present criticism we have to also present concrete proposals as to the way out. If this is truly a "new period". If the dialectical process is functioning, If we are really ready for a real coalition against WAR, RACISM and REPRESSION. If we really ant to put the "Co" in Coalition, then there must be mechanisms to guarantee equal emphasis and equal implementation of all aspects of the program.

SPRING ACTIONS:

First of all, there can be no meaningful spring actions without having strong demands dealing with the domestic crises and the issues that flow from that. In short the issues of RACISM, rotten conditions of life, and repression.

Secondly, the April 2nd, 3rd, and 4th actions must be given the same emphasis as the Peace Treaty and the May actions.

Thirdly, all the actions must be well planned and executed in a disciplined way.

Fourthly, we must endorse and take on the efforts presently being pursued by Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian organizations, all of which relate directly to this criminal, imperialist, racist war. More specifically, the issues we speak of are:

1. $5,500 guaranteed annual income (NWRO)
2. Lettuce boycott (UFWOC)
3. A&P boycott (SCLC-BREADBASKET)
4. The issue of drugs in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican Community.
5. The rising war-caused inflation and unemployment.
6. Genocide and the fascist thrust as exemplified by the growing racist repression, frame ups and police terrorism.
7. The necessity to relate also to the liberation struggles in Africa, Latin America and the Middle-East.

The facts are that all of these issues are closely related to the War in Indo-China and vice-versa.

If we are talking about moving a large section of the Non-white population on these actions, then the actions must reflect the real day to day issues confront our people.

We know these issues have been raised before, but they have not been seriously put into practice.

The reason Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and Asians have not responded to NCAWRR consistently lies not in our lack of political understanding against the war; we are strongly anti-war. The answer lies in the gap between word and deed in this "coalition".

Unity cannot be based on air or rhetoric. It must be concrete and reflect the real ties that exist between different sections of the population.

On the tactics of all the spring actions, they must be just another series of middle class -white-nude-be in- or psychedlic "cultural experiences". People suffering severely from hunger, poverty, racism and exploitation and police terror, don't view such actions as serious. All actions must be well organized and serious. We especially feel that April 2nd, 3rd, and 4th (the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assasination) must be built up to through a series of local actions; Hunger marches, actions of the unemployed etc.

Non-white people must determine and give key leadership to all proposed actions..

On the International scene, we see the need to end tokenism in the many delegations to Indo-China. We call on the NCAWRR to immediately organize a delegation of Non-White people to Indo-China and that all delegations from this Coalition be truly representative. We also want to deepen our ties and solidarity with our brothers and sisters who are in the forefront of the struggle against racist-U.S. imperialism.

ORGANIZATIONAL PROPOSALS:

Coalitions aren't just "get togethers". By joining together we strengthen all our efforts not just quantitatively but in fact qualitatively. Separately, we tease the ruling class; together, we can seriously challenge them.

The $5,500 guaranteed annual income does hit the war budget. The fight to shift the economic burden of the war on the rich means ending the war. Freedom for Bobby Seale, Angela Daivis, Ericka Huggins, and Reis Tijerina means a big setback for the whole repressive-facist thrust of this ruling class; means shifting our posture from a defensive one to an offensive one.

You must approach our Unity not just moralistically but from that kind

of SELF INTEREST.

You cannot end this war unless your program is clearly anti-racist.

PROPOSALS:

We must set-up a task force of Black, Chicano, Pureto Rican, Indian and Asian organizers to work on the staff of NCAWRR as liasons with NWRO, SCLC, Chicano Moratorium, etc. and to do organizing in Non-white communities, shops, and campuses to guarantee consistent emphasis in these areas and a more massive response from Non-white peoples to all the proposed actions.

Moreover, funds must be equally allocated to efforts of NCAWRR among Non-white peoples. We want to carry out draft counselling in communities, for example.

Thespirit of these proposals is to make NCAWRR relevent in our communities; to raise the level of unity; to make unity concrete and realistic.

Again, we awant to end the racist, imperialist war. We owe an obligation to our brothers and sister in Indo-China to do our part. We owe an obligation to ourselves as well. All our people suffer in an especially severe way from imperialism.

To repeat, there can be no final victory for peace unless racism is destroyed. Until the Peace forces see the centrality of the question of racism in the policies of US Imperialism, we will be faced with more wars, "little" and "big", and remain ever threatened by thermonuclear War.

If this is a coalition, the Peace Treaty must speak of the racist nature of the war and include the proposed amendment. If this is a coalition; an anti racist program must be strongly projected and concrete emphasis must be placed on the special oppression of non-white peoples.

It is our strong feeling that we are going to defeat U.S. Imperialism. We ar going to force them to withdraw from Indo-China. We want a completely new system.

White, non-whites, workers, middle class, students, community people, women and men must unite to do this.

It is our aim to further strengthen this unity and that developing dialectical process to a higher level of struggle.

What we did yesterday will not suffice for today. What we do tomorrow must be qualitatively greater than today.

As to what tomorrow will look like, we cannot fully say. However, we do see our efforts as laying new basis for people unity and for a people's victory.

We therefore move adoption of the proposals contained within this statement.

INTERNATIONAD BOYCOTT OF STANDARD OIL PROPOSAL

At the first meeting of the National Coalition in Milwaukee it was unanimously agreed upon that the Coalition would organize an International Boycott of Standard Oil of N.J. Since that time a small committee has carefully prepared a booklet which documents the complete Case of the People Against Standard Oil. This booklet is now ready for printing and several copies are being circulated this weekend. In addition to the booklet, the committee has prepared a four page pamphlet which describes the Standard Oil Empire, the Boycott and its issues, and the demands.

We propose that the booklet and pamphlet be accepted and that the boycott of Standard Oil be initiated. Every individual and organization at the convention should commit themselves and their organization to this campaign. Much money and many contacts and organizers are needed to print an d distribute the pamphlet and booklet. The boycott Committee should be expanded, and a workshop should develop the strategy for implementation. In addition to individual and organizationaal committment we propose that the Coalition include Sandy Nathan and Tim Kehl as members of the interim committee with the specific task of coordinating the boycott

Finally and most importantly, we propose that the Boycott Proposal be given equal time and that workshops and a plenary session be held between 8:30 and] 10:00 tonight.

INTERNATIONAL BOYCOTT OF STANDARD OIL COMMITTEE

M NATIOANL COALITION AGAINST WAR, RACISM, AND REPRESSION

G.I. CAUCUS POSITION PAPER

Since 1968 there has been developing a mass movement of resistance within all branches of the U.S. Military. Black, Brown, and white G.I.s have become increasingly able to mount opposition to everything from day to day marrassment found in the military to the major U.S. foreign and domestic policies.

The past 33and]/2 years has seen the development of 28 G.I. projects at local bases with full civilian organizers,.and over 100 newspapers published by G.I.s all across the country and overseas.

Last May 16th, Armed Forces Day, nationally coordinated demonstrations were held at over 30 military installations across the country. At 23 bases, the demonstrations forced the Brass to close down the base.

The significance of the opposition must be clear. When a G.I. takes anyyaction against the military he or she can immediately expect increased harrassment, possible imprisonment, or punitive transfere. to a war zone. For example, Art.]34.

We, of the GI Caucus see the possibility for once again using May 16 as a date for nationally coordinated demonstrations to be carried out at local bases a accross the country. Due to lack of representation at this conferance from the GI Movement, we propose the following.

PROPOSAL

1) That May 16th be set as a tentative date for nationally coordinated GI demontstrations.

2) That the implementation of this be carried out by a series of regional c conferances carried out with the assisstance of this coalition and dNat National, Regional, and Local GI Organizations.

3) That the GI Movement be represented on any continuation committee to come out of this conferance.

THE GI CAUCUS

1. That a concentrated week of intense activities beginning May 1 call for the adoption of the peace treaty.

2. That an effort be made to build a consciousness of "no business as usual" on the campuses and in the communities around the country.

3. That the first week of May be viewed as the time to build mass demonstrations and non-violent direct actions in as many cities as possible throughout the country, either prior to or following a focused national action in Washington on May 5.

4. That a powerful demonstration be called in Washington on May 5 to commemorate the black and white people killed at Kent State, Jackson State and Augusta last year. The commemoration should be in the form of demanding that Congress adopt the peace treaty.

5. As a multi-issue action, the Washington demonstrations and those around the country would join together issues of racism, poverty, unemployment, repression, sexism, inflation, taxes and so forth and the demand to implement the peace treaty. Being a multi-tactic action, the demonstration would begin with a mass rally to be addressed by no more than three speakers. The final speaker would call for those assembled to join in non-violent direct action at the Capitol. The call would be issued as an appeal on behalf of persons whose devotion to non-violent tactics is unquestioned -- for example Chavez, Mrs. King, Dr. Spock, Rev. Coffin, Rev. Abernathy, Dave Dellinger and others. It might well be a call for those who are prepared to sit in at the Capitol with the intent of compelling the Congress to act in the name of the people -- that is -- to adopt the peace treaty.

6. The call to non-violent action in Washington would be clearly presented as an option to those assembled, recognizing that not all those present would choose to participate. At the same time, the call should also clearly indicate that the action is intended to be militant and sustained. Hopefully, it will also be a call for similar kinds of action throughout the country and the world.

7. That the first week of May be considered an international action in line with the resolution adopted at the Stockholm Conference last December and that every effort be made to encourage a world wide response in solidarity with our demands.

8. Finally, the call to action in Washington, around the country and around the world, should also contain a call for an intensive summer organizing effort in working class communities throughout our country.

8.* There would need to be a special proposal on developing a summer organizing center which might well be referred to a committee selected from radical organizing collectives around the country, who would be urged to develop a full proposal on this matter.

CONFIDENTIAL

NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST WAR, RACISM AND REPRESSION (NCAWRR)

As concerning the "Peace Treaty" promoted by the NSA at the Chicago meeting, copies of the following listed items relating to same, as were available to participants at the conference, are set forth hereinafter:

(1) Copy of a letter over signature of Nguyen Thi Binh, dated January 3, 1971, in France, addressed to "participants to the National Coalition, Chicago, January 8-10 meeting."

(2) "Rationale and Ideas for Organizing" relative to the "Peace Treaty".

(3) The "People's Peace Treaty", as drafted by the Executive Committee.

(4) The "Joint Treaty of Peace Between the People of the United States, South Vietnam and North Vietnam", as approved by the Chi conference (the tenth point of the Treaty as approved by the conference had not been added as of the time this paper was prepared).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[redacted] b6 b7C

January 3rd, 1971

To participants to the NATIONAL COALITION
Chicago, January 8-10 meeting

Dear friends,

In this New Year letter, I wish first of all to extend my best wishes for happiness and good luck to you and your families. I appreciate this initiative of the American anti-war movemnt to sign a joint declaration of peace with the Vietnamese youth, students and people. This initiative very rightly springs from the feelings and thoughts that our two peoples have no enmity against each other. On the contrary, we wish only to live in peach and friendship. Over the past decade, not only have the Vietnamese people, but also the American people, undergone untold losses and sufferings because of the most savage war waged by the US government in our country.

At present, President Nixon is always talking peace, but in fact, on his orders, the war has been intensified, the attacks against the Indochinese countries and the supplying of armaments, bomb and shells have increased; and the U.S. government has of late threatened to indulge in new military adventures in North-Vietnam. As for the peace wanted by both the Bietnamese and American peoples it is a genuine peace, in conformity with justice and based upon the respect of the soverreignity, independence and inalienable right to self-determination of all peoples.

In the face of continued war by the U.S. government, this initiative of signing a peace treaty between the American and Vietnamese peoples, meets our two peoples' urgent demands and earnest aspirations for peace.

But to be effective, the Peace Treaty should point out the concrete measures to be taken to end the present war. The joint declaration between the three delegations from the United Sates, North -Vietnam and South-Vietnam has shown those right fundamental points: First of all, in order to put an end to the war and restore peace, the peoples of Vietnam and the united States should demand that the Nixon administnation withdraw all U.S. tropps from South Vietnam within a rapid and reasonable time-limit. And why this could not be before June 30, 1971, as we and many people, right in the United States have proposed? If it can be so, the South Vietnamese people will be spared of rains of bombs and shells; they will no longer be poisoned by toxic chemicals and gases, nor will they longer be the victims of such massacres as Song My. And at the same time, young Americans drafted to Vietnam will no longer be exposed to a useless death and all U.S. servicemen in Soth-Vietnam including the captured will be promptly reunited with their families.

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This is not the demand of a small number of people in South-Vietnam or the South-Vietnam National Front for Liberation or the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam only, but it is one of all young people and students, as well as people of all walks of life in SAigon and other regopms pf South-Viertnam National Front for Liberation or the Provisional Revolutionary Government of south-Vietnam only, but it is one of all young people and students, as well as people of all waks of life in Saigon and other regions of South-Vietnam still temporarily occupied by the U.S. and Saigon forces; it is one of every self-respecting Vietnamese, including those working in the Saigon puppet army and adminstration.

The aspiration to live in independence and to decide oneself one's destiny is an elementary right and a legitimate aspiration, that is solemnly recognized in the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States. Therefore, the Nixon adminstration has no right at all to impose upon the South-Vietnam people an administration it has itself set up, a dictatorial and bellicose administration which is killing the the South-Vietnam people, jailing and savagely torturing honest people who only want peace and neutrality, and which is friendziedly opposing the reconciliation and union of people of the same nation.

Would the American people accept that the U.S. government continue to squander the wealth and blood of the American people to foster that handfull of traitors who are despised and hated by every South Vietnamese from the countryside to the towns, who firmly urge their overthrow?

And what right has the Nixon administration to prevent the South-Vietnam people from setting up a government broadly representing the whole South-Vietnam people and favouring peace, independence and neutrality, meeting the aspirations of all strata of people in South Vietnam? This government of coalition and national concord will organize free general elections over the whole territory of South-Vietnam.

To restore peace in Vietnam, we should also pay due attention to the situation of North-Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. No law, no ethical principle allows the Nixon administration to send planes to make reconnaisance flights over, to bomb and to destroy another country. U.S. planes and warships must immediately stop all acts of war infringing upon the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The U.S.. government has no reason at all to justify its policy of war against the peoples of Laos and Cambodia. To bring a solid peace to Vietnam and Indochina, and to extricate the United States from the bog of an issueless war, the U.S. government must also give up its policy of aggression against Laos and Cambodia, and really respect their independence, neutrality and territorial integrity.

We support this initiative of the American anti-war movement to make a Peace Treaty and believe its content will be widely approved by all sectors of the American society, students, women, clergy men, intellectuals, trade-unionists, businessmen, servicemen, etc....all those Americans who are courageously opposing the U.S. Criminal war in our country. I wish the best successes to your Spring activities and plans for mass demonstrations in May. May the joint efforts by millions of Vietnamese and Americans concerted with those of innumerable peace lovers the world over soon bring about the results that we all wish for: an end to the war in Vietnam. With best and friendly greetings.

NGUYEN THI BINH

CONFIDENTIAL

RATIONALE AND IDEAS FOR ORGANIZING

I. RATIONALE:

The Vietnam War could end now. The conditions to end the war are crystal clear, and as much as they a e recognized publicly are acceptable to the majority of Americans. There must be immediate, total withdrawal of US forces from Indochina and an immediate end to U. S. imposition of Generals Thieu, Ky, and Khiem in Saigon. The Vietnamese have said if the U S sets the date of June 30, 1971, as the deadline for completion of total withdarwal, the war can end now. Only by accepting these fundamental conditions for peace will the United States truly recognize the basic rights of the Vietnamese people to self-determination independence, and peace. Only by accepting these fundamental conditions for peace will the United States be able to assure the safety of American troops and achieve the release of American prisoners of war. Only by accepting these fundamental conditions for peace will the United States be able to begin to make peace with the American people by taking major steps to change national priorities from war making and death to peace, social justice and creative life for all. The war in Vietnam can end now; but President Nixon does not seek peace.

President Nixon continues to seek a military victory in Vietnam, now by the strategy of Vietnamization, and massive air wars and perhaps soon again through a renewal of bombing of North Vietnam as other forms of escalation. Nixon has succeeded temporarily in fooling many Americans into thinking his "new" strategy will end the war, but the people will not be fooled much longer. Nixon has succeeded temporarily in repressing many Americans into being silent, but people will not be silent for long. The Vietnamese people in all parts of Vietnam are no less resolute in their struggle to free Vietnam from U S occupation and control and they are likely to intensify their struggle on new forms in the coming months.

It is especially significant in this period when Nixon is using all methods of terror and repression to consolidate the grip of Saigon generals in the cities of So uth Vietnam that there is a broad growing South Vietnamese urban movement consisting of a variety of nationalist forces, demanding total U S withdrawal and an end to Thieu, Ky & Khiem.

The Vietnamese people and the people of the United States are not enemies. The idea of organizing around a treaty of peace between the two peoples is [illegible] to dramatize the acceptability of the real conditions to end the war and even more to serve as a vehicle for organizing intensified mass action to force Nixon and the US government to end the war. It is recognized that actions to force an end to the war must be massive, but they must be deepened as well so they can be powerful and sustained. The actions must be conceived and organized as part of building a strong, locally based, diverse, united movement, not simple mobilizations for a single event.

II. IDEAS FOR ORGANIZING:

A. In the initial phase of organizing on the peace treaty groups would canvas a variety of organizations, constituencies, and geographical communities seeking support for the peace treaty. In different organizations, constituencies, and geographical areas this might take the form of getting official endorsements, door to door or shopping area canvassing, city council resolutions, or referenda. As part of this organizing work certain constituencies or communities might arrange for delegations to meet directly with Vietnamese in Paris or some other location to discuss the peace treaty and develop deeper understanding, friendship, and cooperation.

This initial phase of organizing would seek to achieve broad popular recognition

and agreement on the conditions to end the war. It would also build the base for organizing more coherent and focused action around the treaty in successive stages. This first phase would also serve to educate and dramatize how the normal governmental machinery for achieving peace is not working now.

B. The second phase of peace treaty organizing might be viewed as organizing for implementation - for action. In each organization, constituency and community where there is support for the conditions to end the war, there should be analysis and discussion of how the war impinges on that group and/or how that group or community is supporting the war. What are the links, or if you will, the chains which bind a particular group or community to the war and how can we break the chains. Concretely what forms of action should we take in our particular group or community, to implement the treaty of peace. What forms of "negative" action to break our ties with the war machine? What kind of positive actions to build our vision of a just society and build cooperation and friendship with the Vietnamese.

Several groups and organizations already have begun to develop concrete ideas along these lines:

-- In WILPF and in Women Strike for Peace discussions have been held on how a program based on the peace treaty would relate to an examination of how as consumers we buy the war everyday. Implementing the peace treaty obviously would involve efforts to stop buying the war.

-- The National Student Association acting on a mandate from the National Student Congress organized a delegation of students to South and North Vietnam to negotiate a peace treat with student of Vietnam. On campuses, afther the NSA initiated a student conference on the peace treaty at Ann Arbor, February 5-7; it is projected that there will be campus-wide referenda organized. Following successful campus referenda, administration acceptance of the peace treaty would be demanded. Implementation plans among students and faculty on campuses and in high schools might include ending ROTC, and war research, as well as developing new forms of cooperation with Vietnamese students and faculty.

-- In the Modern Language Association, a treaty of peace was adopted at the annual convention and is being sent out for ratification to the entire membership of 30,000. The president of MLA is authorized to organize a Commission to develop implementation plans.

-- War Resisters League and other groups are discussing ways to organize tax protest and tax resistance as a means of implementation for the peace treaty.

-- In some cities intensive work can be done to build the peace treaty as a city - wide campaign. Perhaps such a campaign would combine resolutions in city councils, campus and high school referenda, endorsement by many different organizations, door to door canvasing and other organizing techniques. Clergy and Laymen, F.O.R., and AFSC already are cooperating in organizing citizens delegations from many cities to meet with the Vietnamese as part of the peace treaty campaign. Endorsement of the treaty by a particular organization or even a city would not be ends in themselves, but parts of ongoing organizing for more powerful action.

Obviously almost all of the organizing described will be locally and regionally based. At the same time we will need to be organizing in ways that build potential for coordinated action antionwide. Not simply mobilizing people for one day action, but organizing for action which might focus on particular days, but would continue in effective ways over weeks, months ... years.

Many of the groups who are beginning to organize around Peace Treaty are linking their work on the treaty to a conception of sustained mass actions beginning in May. Some groups are organizing implementation plans which project May 1 as the date the Peace Treaty goes into effect. The first week in May has historic importance in the struggle to end the war because of events of last May. May 1, 1971, is a year and a day from the US invasion of Cambodia, and marks the projected date

for the completion of phase two of Vietnamization. May 4 and 6, mark the anniverseries of the government's murder of students at Kent and Jackson State. May marks a year since the first nationwide student strike and a year since the American people forced the Nixon government to withdraw US troops from Cambodia. May, 1971, could mark the time when the American people force the government to withdraw all US military forces from all of Indochina.

P E O P L E ' S P E A C E T R E A T Y -- Draft passed by Executive Committee

Please Note: Signatories endorse only the substance of the Treaty, not the Preamble. The treaty itself follows the resolutions passed at the Autumn National Committee meeting. The Preamble should be altered to suit local organizing needs.

PREAMBLE

The war in Vietnam denies self-determination to the people of Vietnam and to the American people. During the nearly two hundred years of our history the United States has intervened by force in the affairs and destinies of other peoples over three hundred times. Almost without exception these were wars solely for the interests of the powerful and paid for by the lives and resources of America.

Since the end of World War II, through a succession of five presidents, we have seen U.S. intervention in Vietnam escalate into unlimited warfare against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. During this quarter century awareness slowly grew to knowledge and massive American opposition and resistance to the policies of our government. While exhausting every traditional avenue to change the disasterous course of our government's policies were were ignored, lied to, duped, patronized, sacrificed and sold out by one administration after another. Every day brings further evidence of Nixon's determination to continue on this course.

The established institutions of our society ignore the growing and critical needs of our population as they increasingly serve the military machine. As students, teachers and university workers we have seen education turned to the service of the military, in scientific research, in officer training, in social studies directed towards conquest through counter insurgency.

* * * * * *

The peoples of the United States and Vietnam have never been at war. The Vietnamese have stated this through every possible independent spokesman. For the American people to make this affirmation there is no alternative but to engage in a new process, to join directly our two peoples in solidarity and in the commitment to bring peace and independence to Vietnam.

We agree upon the following principles, expressed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the various popular forces in South Vietnam for peace and independence as the essential conditions for ending the war:

1. The total withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from Vietnam not later than June 30, 1971.
2. The total withdrawal of U.S. military and economic support from the police state of Thieu-Ky-Kiem.
3. Total non-intervention by the U.S. in the internal political affairs of Vietnam.

We understand that realization of these conditions is the only obstacle preventing the people of Vietnam from carrying out their stated intention to

1. Form a Provisional Coalition Government representing all independent and democratic popular forces and hold free general elections in all of South Vietnam, &
2. Release immediately all captured soldiers and political prisoners, &
3. Refrain from attacking U.S. forces in the process of withdrawal.

We agree further that with the failure of the U.S. government to take these necessary steps towards ending U.S. agression in Vietnam, the responsibility for action reverts to the American people.

We agree to act on this responsibility. This agreement will be taken directly to the American people for immediate ratification. On May 1, 1971, we shall begin the second phase of our program to implement this Treaty of Peace Between the People of Vietnam and the United States and to conduct relations on a basis which will further the true interests of our peoples.

JOINT TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, SOUTH VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAM

Be it known that the American and Vietnamese people are not enemies. The war is carried out in the names of the people of the United States and South Vietnambut without our consent. It destroys the land and people of Vietnam. It drains America of its resources, its youth and its honor.

We hereby agree to end the war on the following terms, so that both peoples can live under the joy of independence and can devote themselves to building a society based on human equality and respect for the earth.

1. The Americans agree to the immediate and total withdrawal of all US forces from Vietnam.

2. The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the US government publicly sets a date for total withdrawal:

   They will enter discussions to secure the release of all American prisoners, including pilots captured while bombing North Vietnam.

3. There will be an immediate cease-fire between US forces and those led by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

4. They will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops.

5. The Americans pledge to end the imposition of Thieu-Ky-Khiem on the people of South Vietnam in orderto insure their right to self-determination and so that all political prisoners can be released.

6. The Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional coalition government to organize democratic elections. All parties agree to respect the results of elections in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely without the presence of any foreign troops.

7. The South Vietnamese pledge to enter discussion of procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collaborated with the US or with the US-supported regime.

8. The Americans and Vietnamese agree to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia in acoord with the 1954 and 1962 Geneva conventions and not to interfere in the internal affairs of these two countries.

9. Upon these points of agreement, we pledge to end the war and resolve all other questions in the spirit of self-determination and mutual respect for the independence and political freedom of the people of Vietnam and the United States.

By ratifying this agreement, we pledge to take whatever actions are appropriate to implement the terms of this joint Treaty and to insure its acceptance by the government of the United States.

NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST WAR, RACISM AND REPRESSION (NCAWRR)

Following is a copy of the "Report on the 7th Stockholm Conference," November 28 - 30, 1970, as was available to participants of the Chicago meeting, and which was referred to on many occasions during the meeting:

REPORT ON THE 7TH STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE
November 28 - 30, 1970

By [redacted] U.S. Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom b6 b7C

The high point of the November Stockholm Peace Conference for me as a member of the U.S. delegation was the meeting with the four delegations from Indochina. All of them described the situation in their countries at present and gave us a brief account of their history. We spent at least two hours with each delegation, and were impressed over and over again with their warmth and their friendliness to us. And we were deeply moved by their lack of rancor in spite of the incredible sufferings of their people.

We learned that not a single town or village is left standing in the liberated area of Laos as a result of a daily bombing by U.S. planes which is now dropping 3,000 tons a day as well as increasing amounts of toxic chemicals. 2,000 schools have been destroyed. The people in the liberated zones live in caves and forests. The U.S. government claims that it is bombing only the Ho Chi Min Trail are simply untrue. 1600 planes have been shot down by the forces of the government of national union. Only the less dense population (3 million in the whole country) makes the devastation less than Vietnam. They ask that the United States stop bombing and permit the Laotians to negotiate among themselves.

The head of the Cambodian delegation, a general of the people's army, told us that they now control 2/3 of the territory with 1/2 of the population. American advisors are still with the South Vietnamese invaders. 200,000 acres have now been damaged by herbicides.

They are certain that the CIA engineered the Lon Nol coup. They know that he was involved in two earlier unsuccessful coup attempts. This one was carefully planned between 1965 and '70 during which time mercenary troops were trained by the CIA in Thailand, Prince Sihanouk was systematically estranged from his people by lies, and a number of leaders were corrupted by U.S. aid. When the moment came, the Prince was away and Lon Nol brought in the CIA trained mercenaries to execute the coup.

Communism is not an issue in Cambodia, we were told. Talk of invading North Vietnamese armies is nonsense. They get material help from China, but the only troops fighting are Cambodians, including some Vietnamese residents. What they want is to reestablish a neutral and non-aligned Cambodia controlled by the people with Prince Sihanouk heading the government.

The representative of the People's Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam evaluated Nixon's proposal for a stand still cease fire this way. Suppose someone broke into your house, started a fight with you and then said, "Look, lets stop fighting and we'll stay." Would that seem reasonable to you?

Asked about desertions to the NLF he replied that there are now about 10,000 a month. At a peace demonstration May 19 in Danang of some 200,000 he had seen American soldiers participating, but he had no figures on numbers of desertions. Asked whether the U.S. military situation had improved, he cited the fact that only recently there had been rocket bombardment of Saigon. Rockets are not "pocket handkerchiefs," he said. To move them secretly within 6 miles of a city requires considerable help from the people.

In the Mekong Delta, the most heavily populated area of South Vietnam (9 million of 17 million) are strategic hamlets (so-called) which have been destroyed up to 30 times. If the Americans finally can't control a place, they massacre the inhabitants. Song mi was a "pacified" village. These villages are "like sealing up explosive matter in a box -- very dangerous."

Asked why he thought the Americans admitted 35,000 infiltrators in Saigon, he cited the Vietnamese proverb which says, "Don't try to hide an elephant in a basket." Women, Youth, Buddhists have been involved in anti-war activities, but only recently the unions. There has been a strike of firemen at the air base. Students have been demonstrating against military training and military service. Even the Saigon newspapers are publishing more - although one of them has been seized 100 times. Mme Binh's proposals at Paris were carried on all the front pages.

M. Vy, who spoke to us about the present situation in North Vietnam said that the bombing, even to within a few miles of Hanoi, now exposed the insincerity of Nixon's words about peace. He emphasized the reasonable and flexible position of the Vietnamese side in the Paris negotiations. June 30, 1971 has been proposed by them as the final withdrawal date but even that can be negotiated. But they must have a definite date by which time all Americans will be withdrawn. Once that has been announced they will negotiate a guarantee of security for the troops during withdrawal and the release of prisoners of war. They consider Nixon's unwillingness to set a date as a reflection of his unwillingness to withdraw all troops.

As to the fear of a Communist take-over of a coalition government - why should the U.S. be so fearful, he asked, if the Thieu-Ky government is so strong as the U.S. says. Mme. Binh does not ask for participation in the S. Vietnamese government with which she will negotiate once Thieu, Ky and Khiem have been ousted. She proposes that negotiations between the Saigon government and the PRG work out a coalition government consisting of 1/3 Saigon, 1/3 PRG and 1/3 to be taken from other people who stand for peace, independence and neutrality. This will bring about a peaceful, neutral S. Vietnam and eventually through negotiation, a United Vietnam.

We met with M. Vy the day after the Stockholm Conference adjourned and he told us all the Indo-Chinese delegations were very pleased with the outcome. This year for the first time all they had hoped for was included in the political declaration adopted unanimously at the final session. The main support they want is political -- not material aid, he said. And he was happy that the conference pledged support to the anti-war and anti-repression movements in the United States.

The final political decisions of the Conference were embodied in the declaration brought in by Commission I. (Commission 2 was on war crimes; 3 on world wide action to end the war; 4 on material aid to the Vietnamese people.)

The declaration saw the recent renewal of bombing in N. Vietnam as a "part of the U.S. government's plan to intensify and extend the war of aggression in Indochina." The intensification of bombing Laos and the large scale attacks on the northern region were seen as deliberate efforts to prevent contacts proposed by the Pathet Lao with Prince Souvanna Phouma. And the spreading involvement of Saigon troops in Cambodi with unlimited U.S. air support was defying public opinion and carrying with it increased financial and military aid to Lon Nol. The first action of the Conference has been to condemn renewal of bombing. The final political declaration repeated that condemnation and demanded an end "once and for all of all acts of war against the D.R.V." It also asked that the U.S. "respond seriously to the 8 point proposals of Mme Binh put forward in a spirit of "obvious good will," agree to withdraw completely and unconditionally before June 30 and cease all support of Thieu, Ky and Khiem in order to open the road "to the formation of a coalition government which favors peace, independence, neutrality and democracy."

A final section of the declaration points to the fact that President Nixon has been intensifying his "deceitful peace proposals". "This duplicity," it says, "succeeded in the beginning in creating illusions and sowing confusion, but it will certainly be unmasked and can finally only lead to still greater isolation of the U.S. agressor.

Commission 3 on action - whose sessions I attended - was by all odds the most lively. The final report called for an immediate delegation to Paris to take the conclusions reached by the Conference to the participants in the negotiations. It planned an international campaign to end the U.S. war of aggression in Indochina organized around a number of dates:

December 10 - 10th Anniversary of the formation of the N.L.F.
January 26 - Tet - Vietnamese New Years festival
March 6 - First anniversary of the proposals of the Laotian Patriotic Front on ending the war.
April 3-4 - Day of solidarity with U.S. actions against the war on the occasion of the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King.
April 30 - Day of solidarity with the Cambodian people on the first anniversary of American aggression there.

They also agreed that world wide support for the opening date of the big mobilization planned in the U.S. sometime in the first two weeks of May (dates to be agreed on at a Jan. 8-10 Coalition Conference in Chicago) would be important. And finally, that mass movements should continue through May and June right up to June 30 "in an effort to put a final stop to American aggression."

Actions will vary from country to country but suggestions were included for parliamentarians intervening with members of the American Congress; scholars, scientists, etc., urging their American colleagues to support the campaign; special actions by trade unionists; specific actions decided on by women's movements particularly on International Women's Day, March 8. The imprtance of explaining the reasons for the struggle of the Indochinese people and the substance of their proposals for peace was stressed. Boycott of American companies participating the war were also included.

The discussion leading up to agreement on this section of the Commission 3 report brought reports of actions all over the world against the war, many of which have not been reported in our American press. Many in the U.S. delegation felt that we had little idea of the extent of the demonstrations taking place in other parts of the world and this resulted in addition of a third section of the report which proposed, among many things, a monthly newsletter for distribution to organizations on a subscription basis, prepared through the facilities of the Stockholm Liaison Committee.

Part II of the report of Commission 3 calls for world wide support of victims of repression - not only those who are persecuted for their opposition to the war, but also those such as the Black Panthers and Angela Davis who are killed or threatened with the death penalty because of the racist oppression of the U.S. government. This section was also controversial. Some felt that opposing all forms of repression was diverting energy from the anti-war campaign and really had no place in the resolution. Members of the U.S. delegation felt strongly the need for international support in their struggle against the racist repression directed against Blacks, Chicanos, Indians and other minorities. Members of these communities are disproportionately represented among American casualties in Vietnam and the growing participation of these groups in the anti-war movement is an important source of strength and milatancy. They carried conviction.

The wording of the section on aid to deserters as first proposed was altered somewhat to remove all direct criticism of the Swedish government for the recent deportations. Since Sweden is one of two countries in the world currently giving asylum to deserters other less drastic forms of protest were agreed upon and a delegation saw Mr. Palme after the conference.

It is interesting to note that included in the actions called for are protests to the Australian government against repression of those opposing the war there. The Commission report was finally unanimously accepted as revised and presented to the entire Conference.

One further very important decision of the Conference was agreement to the proposal of the Scandinavian union leaders that they take the initiative in calling a World Conference of trade unionists against the war. British delegates reported that the recent meeting of their Trade Union Congress had for the first time demanded an end to the war, an end to American aggression in Indochina and withdrawal of British support for that aggression. Australian trade unions are also on record against the war and the Labor Party there, which is within some 6 or 7 votes of a controlling voice in the government is on record for withdrawal of all Australian troops, This growing labor initiative against the war was cited by Bertil Swanstrom, director of the Liaison Committee of the Stockholm Conference, as a major current development in the struggle to end the war.

Reports of Commission 2 on the criminal nature of the war called attention to the testimony given to the first session of the War Crimes Commission established by the Stockholm Conference under the chairmanship of Gunnar Myrdal. Those reports were made available to delegates. Vietnamezation was there spelled out in horrifying detail of leveling of villages, massacres of inhabitants, and raping of women. Details of incident after incident repeating the general pattern of Song My are recorded. Section II on intensive repression records the brutal repression of peace demonstrations in many areas. Section III reports the use of toxic chemicals in the last 9 months on 145,000 acres of land in 25 So Vietnam provinces. 85,000 people have been affected by the poisons of whom 300 have died. The same picture is reported in Central Vietnam, especially in densely populated areas. Final sections on "Intensive bombing by B-52s of populous regions" and "The use of barbarous torture and harsh jail conditions against Patriots and Peace Lovers" give dates, places and incidents reported by witnesses. This is must reading for Americans.

Commission 4 on material aid recommended that meterial and medical aid should be increased to the maximum and that there is an urgent need for health services which is not being met. The Secretariat for the Coordination of the European Medical Assoc. for Aid to Vietnam is preparing a large shipment of selected first aid and sanitation material to be sent for Tet 1971. More information is available through the Stockholm Conference.

450 delegates and observers from 70 countries of the world attended thsi Conference. We all felt somewhat frustrated by our inability to spend more time getting acquainted, hearing other people's plans, exchanging experience. Part of the problem was the necessity of frequent special meetings of our own delegation many of whom met as a grou for the first time in Stockhom. It was an impressive delegation with people from minority groups and many parts of the country. 10 from San Francisco, including a representative of Bay Area Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's Union. They were proud as were we all, that one of the scheduled speakers at the opening session was Ronald Dellums, newly elected a Congressman from the Bay area. Reporting for the U.S. at the opening session, in addition to Dave Dellinger, who gave the main presentation were Munios, from the Chicano Moratorium West, William Douthard, New Coalition against War, Racism and Repression and Ola Kennedy from the Steel Workers' Committee for Trade Union Action and Democracy. Co-chairman of our group were Dave Dellinger and Lucille Berrien of the National Welfare Rights Organiztion from Milwaukee. The composition of the delegation reflected the growing involvement of minorities in the American peace movement and the growing support for their demands by the peace movement

After the Conference Willie Jenkins, coordinator of the New Coalition in N.Y., was scheduled to be one of the delegation to present our recommendations to the Paris Peace Conference and Willie Douthard planned to speak at a great mass meeting against repression called by the Italian trade unions in Rome. Only Sweden sent a larger delegation than the U.S. to the Conference.

It was a tremendously stimulating, enlightening and heartening 3 days which inspired all of us to greater effort. Our job now is to see that the April 3-4 demonstrations in support of social justice as well as peace, and the early May actions in Washington to emphasize our demand for a reordering of priorities including withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from Southeast Asia, are overwhelmingly effective.

The final "Appeal to Humanity" adopted unanimously at the closing Conference session follows: It should have wide distribution.

APPEAL TO HUMANITY

The war of aggression against the people of Vietnam has now been extended to a point of extreme gravity, because of the renewed bombing of North Vietnam. The aggression against the peoples of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia has been intensified.

The Nixon administration is committed to a military victory over the peoples of Indochina. Its so-called peace proposals are intended only to deceive the people and to prolong the war.

We demand from the U.S. government:

The immediate stop of the U.S. war of aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and the respect of their right to self-determinatio

The complete and unconditional withdrawal from South Vietnam of U.S. and sattelite troops before June 30, 1971, and the immediate complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from Laos and Cambodia.

The cessation of bombings and other war crimes against the three peoples.

Stop of U.S. support for Thieu-Ky-Khiem and Lon Nol Sirik Matek administration.

This is the road to peace in Indochina.

We demand that the U.S. government respond seriously to the fair and reasonable proposals of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

We appeal to the peoples of the world to intensify their actions in solidarity with the just cause of the peoples of Indochina.

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
also known as
BLACK PANTHER PARTY
FOR SELF DEFENSE

According to the official newspaper of the Black Panther Party (BPP), the BPP was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby G. Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense, BPP.

The official newspaper, called "The Black Panther," regularly states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to as "pigs" who should be killed.

The newspaper, in its issue of September 7, 1968, had an article by the then Minister of Education, George Murray. This article ended with the following:

> "Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

The BPP newspaper, issue of October 5, 1968, had an article introduced with the following statement: "We will not dissent from American government. We will overthrow it."

David Hilliard, Chief of Staff, BPP, in a speech at the San Francisco Polo Field on November 15, 1969, said "We will kill Richard Nixon."

David Hilliard, in "The New York Times," issue of December 13, 1969, was quoted as follows: "We advocate the very direct overthrow of the government by way of force and violence."

In the issue of April 25, 1970, the BPP newspaper had an article by Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas, as follows:

> "The only way to make this racist US government administer justice to the people it is oppressing, is .....by taking up arms against this government, killing the officials, until the reactionary forces .....are dead, and those that are left turn their weapons on their superiors, thereby passing revolutionary judgement against the number one enemy of all mankind, the racist U. S. government."

The BPP Headquarters is located at 1046 Peralta Street, Oakland, California. Branches of the BPP, and Committees to Combat Fascism, under control of the BPP, have been established in various locations in the USA.

NATIONAL PEACE ACTION COALITION

On October 7, 1970, a source made available a copy of "An Open Letter To All College Students" from the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) dated October 6, 1970, which self-described the NPAC as an umbrella organization formed at the Student Mobilization Committee National Emergency Conference Against Cambodia-Laos-Viet Nam War held at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 19-21, 1970, to unite all antiwar forces in the struggle to immediately end United States involvement in Southeast Asia. One aim of the NPAC is to gain the support of labor forces.

NPAC Headquarters is located at 2102 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, with branch offices located in major United States cities.

A second source, on October 11, 1970, made available a copy of a paper entitled "Organizing Local Peace Action Coalitions," published by the NPAC, 2102 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland. The paper states that the basic objective of the NPAC is to involve masses of people, including labor unions, GIs, and the black community, in the struggle to end United States intervention in Indochina through orderly and peaceful tactics. These tactics include building mass demonstrations and national conferences, distributing leaflets, selling literature, organizing forums and fund-raising activities, and testifying at state legislature hearings.

A third source, on September 1, 1970, advised the NPAC was formed and made operational by members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The NPAC is heavily influenced by SWP leadership nationally and is a recruiting ground for this organization.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

FD-323 (Rev. 11-29-61)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Atlanta, Georgia
January 13, 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Title NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST WAR, RACISM, AND REPRESSION (NCAWRR)

Character

Reference Memorandum prepared at Atlanta, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

FD-36 (Rev. 5-22-64)

FBI

Date: 1/13/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-8528)(P)

"DO NOT DESTROY; HISTORICAL VALUE; NATIONAL ARCHIVES

NATIONAL COALITION AGAINST WAR, RACISM, AND REPRESSION (NCAWRR)
IS - MISCELLANEOUS

Re WFO airtel dated 12/23/70, and Atlanta teletype dated 1/5/71.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and ten copies of an LHM prepared at Atlanta on 1/13/71, captioned as above, and suitable for dissemination. Copies have been designated for offices whose interest is indicated in information set forth in enclosed LHM, as well as for offices which, according to information in Atlanta file, have an interest in this matter.

2-Bureau (Enc. 11)(RM)
1-Albany (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Alexandria (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Baltimore (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Boston (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Buffalo (Enc. 1)(RM)
2-Chicago (Enc. 5)(RM)
1-Cincinnati (100-18924)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Cleveland (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Denver (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Detroit (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Indianapolis (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Jacksonville (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Kansas City (100-14272)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Los Angeles (100-75632)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Louisville (100-4890)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Miami (100-16101)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Milwaukee (100-17073)(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Minneapolis (Enc. 1)(RM)
2-New York (Enc. 5)(RM)
1-Newark (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-New Haven (100-20597)
(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-New Orleans (100-18774)
(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Oklahoma City (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Philadelphia (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Pittsburgh (100-16827)
(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-St. Louis (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-San Antonio (100-11998)
(Enc. 1)(RM)
1-San Francisco (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Seattle (Enc. 1)(RM)
1-Tampa (100-2105)(Enc. 1)(RM)
2-WFO (Enc. 5)(RM)
4-Atlanta (2-100-8528)
(1-134-527A)(1-100-8225)

"DO NOT DESTROY; HISTORICAL VALUE; NATIONAL ARCHIVES

(NSA)

SEARCHED (40) JAN 16 1971
SERIALIZED Sent
FILED

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

100-1262-13

b6
b7C

GPO 1970 O - 402-735

Multiple copies are designated for Chicago, New York, and WFO; however, each office is requested to reproduce copies of the LHM as needed.

The source who furnished information set forth in the enclosed LHM is identified as [redacted] b7D b7E

The enclosed LHM is classified ~~confidential~~ due to the fact that the information contained therein was furnished by a source of continuing value, and unauthorized disclosure of this information could compromise source and thereby adversely affect the internal security of the United States.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1513205-000

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Page 17 ~ Duplicate;

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SAC (100-31926) 8/14/65

SA [redacted]

U. S. NATIONAL STUDENT ASSN.
Information Concerning - IS

On 8/14/65 Mr. [redacted] telephone [redacted] called. He found a copy of "Current", described as a booklet about 7 x 10, ¼" thick with 64 heavy pages, in his car Saturday while same was parked at the Cheltenham Shopping Center. He noted there were many copies in adjacent parked cars. b6 b7C

He described the contents as nothing but "Communist propaganda". He said the periodical is put out by U. S. National Student Association, publisher ELLIOT D. PRATT, Editor SYDNEY HERTZBERG. Copies may be obtained from 905 Madison Ave., NYC.

INDICES show card for PRATT 100-28380-1a1, and 2 masters for captioned organization. Nothing on HERTZBERG or [redacted]

pvh
cc 157-1099 (USNSA)

100-31926-6

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
AUG 16 1965
Hertzberg

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D.C. 20535

April 13, 1964

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

On April 11, 1964, Detective Warren Merlock, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), Special Investigations Squad, Washington,D.C., advised as follows:

One hundred and twenty students, representing thirty-six colleges and universities, attended a conference at Gaston Hall, Georgetown University. From 2:30 p.m. to 5 p.m., on April 11, 1964, approximately one hundred of these students conducted a picket line at the White House. These pickets carried placards which read, "Free the Rivonia Patriots," "Remember Sharpeville," "We Don't Side With Apartheid," "Stamp Out Apartheid," among others.

Detective Merlock advised he had ascertained the following information from David Steinberg, a student of Oberlin College, who described himself as Co-Chairman of the African Freedom Day Action Against Apartheid (AFDAAA):

The conference was a "kickoff" in an effort to form a continuing committee to fight apartheid. Steinberg felt the conference was successful and that many of the students would be willing to work in the future in this regard. According to Steinberg, Ellen Shockley of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, visited unknown Congressman on April 11, 1964, and Shockley and David DuBow, Chairman of the conference, visited State Department officials on the same date.

Detective Merlock furnished copies of a press release and leaflet which were distributed by persons attending the conference. These items are attached hereto.

Detective Merlock advised there were no incidents in connection with the picket line or conference.

DO NOT DESTROY -2

Attachments

[illegible] LITIGATION

SEE 157-3 SER 226/10

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

DATED 10-11-77 10-27-77

157-1099-4

INDEXED FILED

APR 14 1964

FBI—PHILADELPHIA

1 cc in 100-31926

Press Release

for

African Freedom Day

Action Against Apartheid

Fred Du Bois
Chairman

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Contact:
Sebastian Mezu, 234-5596
or
Fred DuBow
153 East College
Oberlin, Ohio

African Freedom Day Action Against Apartheid
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.
April 10-11, 1964

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. STUDENTS PROTEST APARTHEID AT WHITE HOUSE
FDR, ITT ATTACKS U.S. Policy

A routine workshop on international affairs held last August at the National Student Association Congress in Bloomington, Indiana has brought to Washington 200 student delegates from 27 colleges and all international organizations to protest South Africa's racial policies.

From the workshop which heard Allard K. Lowenstein, professor of Political Science at North Carolina State College and Jonty Driver, 23-old president of the National Union of South African students describe terrorism in South Africa and in the mandated territory of South West Africa, has grown the nucleus of a movement whose impact may eventually equal that of campus civil rights' organizations such as Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ~~xxxx-permanent~~ as well as a permanent committee of students pledged to fight apartheid.

As described by Phyllis Marynick, a 20-year old Oberlin College sophomore from Dallas, Texas, "NSA delegates were shocked and revolted by the first hand accounts of living conditions imposed by DR. Verwoerd's Nationalist Government."

"We came out of the meeting stunned and shaken," said Miss Marynick. "Some of us were pale -- we had never imagined that people who call themselves Christians could deliberately, diabolically

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RIGHTS

rights -- not to mention occupations -- even depriving them of the right to education, sending them away to forced labor under inhuman conditions, separating them from their wives and children two years. That is the normal fate of respectable, law-abiding Africans. Do you know what happens to an African who isn't law-abiding or whom the police suspect of any infractions of the law? He just disappears and is kept incommunicado for months and years, without a trial, without legal defence, without even knowing what charges if any charges have been brought against him, or who, if anybody, has accused him."

Other students echoed Mrs Marynick's indignation and told how, returning to Oberlin in September, they had decided to organize for action. Speakers be brought in, other colleges were invited to participate, and the support of the National Student Association was enlisted to help organize the current national conference.

From its inception the actual work of translating the basic idea into the working conference has of necessity been on a voluntary, amateur basis, according to Fred DuBow, chairman of the African Freedom Day action Against Apartheid Committee. "We had heard of the fine work being done by the American Committee on Africa and Episcopal Churchmen for South Africa, but they are not student organizations." The Committee does not see the conference as an end in itself, but rather a beginning of what they hope will be a national movement to bring about changes in U.S. foreign policy. According to a leaflet destributed by the group during a demonstration in front of the White House on Saturday, April 11, "It is time for (the U.S.) to back up its pious condemnations of apartheid by using its resources to formulate initiatives which will irradicate this inhuman practice." The leaflets lists eight suggestions for a more effective U.S. policy, including support of UN action in

this inhuman practice. The leaflet lists eight suggestions for a more effective U.S. policy, including support of U.N. action in compliance with a World Court decision on South West Africa, an embargo on American trade with South Africa, urging other NATO countries to join the U.S. in a boycott of arms shipments to that country, and pressures to secure the release of all prisoners being held for opposing the present government of South Africa.

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MORE

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NO, diary-graduated later

The participants heard a panel presented by Rev. Kenneth Carstens from the Harvard Divinity School, Miss Mary Benson, Magnus Gunther, a student at North Carolina University, and Morley Nkosi, a student at Columbia University on Friday night. Carstens, a native of South Africa, was a member of the Eastern Province Regional Committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Defense and Aid Committee. Miss Benson was the first petitioner to appear before the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid and testified again this past spring in connection with the Rivonia Trial now taking place in South Africa. Magnus Gunther, also a native of South Africa, has worked with the Coordinating Secretariat of the International Student Conference. Morley Nkosi was a former regional president of PAC and is now assistant to Mr. N. Mahomo, the London and North America Pan Africanist Congress representative.

After a short talk on South African history by Rev. Carstens, Miss Mary Benson talked about some of the now pressing problems in South Africa, stressing the timely significance of this conference. Miss Benson spoke of a similar conference in London April 14-17 to discuss the need for sanctions and intervention in the South African situation. The conference is to be attended by world leaders and academicians in the fight against apartheid, including representatives from American civil rights' organizations. The biggest issue now connected with the South African situation is the trial of many of the most noted African leaders, including Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu who oppose the government's policies. For twenty years Mandela has worked with the African National Congress, attempting to use nonviolent methods and work through the legal structure. Although continually harrassed, Mandela, in accord with the majority of African leaders, has continued to advocate the use of nonviolence. The tone of African resistance did not change until 1961 after the Sharpeville massacre. At this point, as one leader said to Miss Benson, "Desperate people are eventually provoked to acts of retaliation." It must be emphasized that the leaders nowon trial are working not for a policy of partition which would equal that of the Afrikaners.

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but instead for a multi-racial South Africa in which all men would have the same rights and opportunities. The farcical nature of the trial was recently pointed up when a representative of the International Commission of Jurists who had attended the trial stated that under the "brutal and bestial" Act of Parliament providing the framework for the trial: "the danger is that these men will hang, though they must not." Mandela is of particular importance in that in his many years of opposition, he has traveled extensively in all of Africa and England where he has been recognized as a truly great man. His being sentenced to death would proclaim more clearly that South Africa is now in a state of war.

Gunther, an expatriate from South Africa, elaborated further on conditions in South Africa. The government, he asserted, will continue at all costs to run South Africa for the benefit of the minority, wealthy, white element, and that it will not budge to meet any of the demands of the majority of the population. Gunther said that the white nations of the West must listen to their consciences and not to their pocketbooks when dealing with South Africa.

"If the international community does not intervene," he concluded, "then individual states must and will. But then what ought to be a battlefield against the racial savagery of the South African Government will become a battlefield involving Cold War considerations. The outside world has no choice between breaking the back of white supremacy and actively assisting it to survive. There can be no moral escape into mere acceptance."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT III, in his first major address in the United States on Apartheid, said that American policy toward South Africa will ultimately affect our relations with free people around the world. If immediate action is not taken, racial violence in South Africa might lead to a third World War.

In speaking of the alternatives for U.S. policy toward South Africa, Roosevelt referred to the present attitudes and policies of U.S. business, the State Department, and the United Nations, and quoted Clarence Randall, an executive of U.S. Steel, to the effect that United States business clearly has a purely economic interest in its relations with South Africa, and that it is pursuing a let's wait policy.

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that country. 'But time alone is no solution," added Roosevelt. "Things are getting worse, not better."

Discussing State Department policy toward South Africa, he challenged U.N delegate Adlai Stevenson's use of the racial problem in this country as an excuse for inaction in South Africa. "Stevenson's policy of a 'bridge of communication' to settle differences would not work," claimed Roosevelt. "Since repeated attempts at peaceful negotiations within the U.N. and South Africa have failed repeatedly."

Roosevelt stressed that active cooperation with the United Nations to impose economic sanctions on African goods is the only policy that the U.S. can pursue to insure non-external force strong enough to pressure South Africa for reforms. "Otherwise," he stated "the policy that we are now supporting will lead to an explosion of violence within ten years."

No checked later

George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, attacked the present 'go-slow' policy of the U.S. toward South Africa and charged that [illegible] economic interests, general disillusionment, racial policies within the United States, and attitudes toward the Cold War are all aspects influencing American policy toward South Africa.

"The future for the United States is not good," he said, "since we are not dealing with the interests of the majority of the people in South Africa or in other parts of Africa. Eventually they will turn elsewhere. With the liberal forces in South Africa so small and so frustrated, the only white opposition is either leaving the country, being imprisoned, or being sent into exile."

Houser urged changes in American policy and a coalition of religious, civil rights, and student organizations to pressure for more dynamic policy as the only ways out of the "fearful" situation in South Africa.

Washington, D.C.
April 11, 1964

- 30 -

Apartheid Means

. totalitarian domination of 12 million non-whites in South Africa by 3 million whites.

. wages so low that a majority of Africans live below the subsistence level.

. one African baby in three dies before he is a year old, while infant mortality in the white community is lower than in the United States.

.the average African expects to live until he is thirty-six years old; the average white until he is seventy.

. one third of Africans entering hospitals suffer from malnutrition---while South Africa is a food-exporting nation.

.literacy is universal among whites, but sixty-five per cent of Africans cannot read of write.

In short, while the majority of Africans are celebrating their day of Freedom, nonwhites in South Africa may not work, live, or travel where they please, much less vote or have any say whatever in the mass of totalitarian legislation which suppresses them.

South Africa Is Arming To Shoot Down The Black Masses

During the last fifteen years pleas from every continent have appealed to South Africa to bring its policies into line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Despite increasing world condemnation, the South African government has banned the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress (the principle organizations protesting apartheid) and jailed their leaders. All critics of Apartheid are branded Communists. The South African press has been coerced into strict pro-government censorship; it is now almost impossible for anti-apartheid publications publications to exist. An arms industry has been established, the military budget has tripled, the white population is being trained in the use of arms, the army has been enlarged, and an extensive white civilian militia created. On October 5, 1959, the Defense Minister stated, "You must not think that we are arming against an external enemy. We are not. We are arming in order to shoot down the black masses."

THINGS ARE GETTING WORSE

White South Africa is now more prosperous than ever: their stock market is up, white immigration is higher. The apartheid regime rolls out repressive legislation at will; it has achieved partial race separation by establishing the first "Bantustan," which in reality is a reserve for forced labor at minimal wages. Protest against apartheid is legally defined as an act of sabotage-- an offence which can be punished by execution.

"The situation in South Africa is worse than it was three years ago...Our efforts have yielded no tangible results." This fact was presented before the Security Council of the United Nations by American ambassador Adlai Stevenson. Announcing an embargo on arms shipments, he pledged also:"The United States would not cooperate in matters which would lend support to South Africa's racial policies."

U.S. CORPORATIONS SUPPORT APARTHEID

But the United States does continue to lend support to South Africa's racial policies: United States investments in South Africa, second only to Britain's, exceed 600 million dollars, and according to United States government sources, have increased fifteen to twenty-five per cent since 1961. Mr. Marcus Banghart, vice-president of the U.S.-owned Newmont Mining Company, recently returned to the United States to say that South Africa offers better promise for stability from untried social and political reforms in other areas." He went on to point out that an American company can average up to twenty-seven per cent in annual profits which is more than twice the normal return on U.S. foreign investments. Virtually all major U.S. corporations have opened plants in South Africa; General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Studebaker, Champion Spark Plugs, Goodyear Tire and Rubber, General Electric, Procter and Gamble, Golgate-Palmolive, Westinghouse, Western Electric, International Harvester, Singer Sewing Machines, and New York's First National Bank, to name some. Added to investments are annual imports from South Africa exceeding 200 million dollars in value.

We concur with Ambassador Stevenson that things are getting worse in South Africa. All possibilities for internal pressures leading to peaceful change have been eliminated by an entrenched totalitarian regime. Continuation of present trends will lead to a violent outbreak constituting a threat to international peace. Only outside intervention can alleviate the plight of South Africa.

The United States is clearly giving vital economic support toward sustaining the South African government. We have rejected proposals within the United Nations to use an economic boycott of South Africa as a lever toward eliminating apartheid, yet we have made no attempt to offer viable alternatives. It is time for our country to back up its pious condemnations of apartheid by using its resources to formulate initiatives which will irradicate this inhuman practice. The U.S. must therefore change its policy toward South Africa.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE U.S. SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY

1. Urge other NATO nations to join the U.S. in a boycott of arms shipments to South Africa.
2. Cease joint military maneuvers with South African forces.
3. Support resolutions in the United Nations calling for an economic boycott of South Africa.
4. Support in the United Nations plans to prepare for the implementation under the guidance of the UN, of peaceful transition in South Africa, toward a form of government consonant with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
5. Place an embargo on American trade with South Africa.
6. Discourage private investment and loans in South Africa.
7. Support UN action in compliance with World Court decisions on South West Africa.
8. Employ formal and informal pressures on the South African government to release all prisoners being held for opposing the policy of apartheid.

AFRICAN FREEDOM DAY ACTION AGAINST APARTHEID
Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.
April 10-11, 1964

AGENDA

FRIDAY, APRIL 10, 1964

3:00 - 6:00 Registration: Gaston Hall

7:00 - 11:00 Registration: Gaston Hall

Evening Session: THE CURRENT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

7:00 - 7:45 "Anatomy of Apartheid"
Rev. Kenneth Carstens, Chaplain, Harvard Divinity School

7:45 - 9:30 "Possibilities and Outlook for Change from Within"
PANEL:
Rev. Kenneth Carstens
Magnus Gunther, former president, National Union of South African Students
Mary Benson, author, first petitioner before U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid

10:00 - 11:00 Discussion Groups

SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1964

Morning Session: UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA; THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AND SOUTH WEST AFRICA AT THE UNITED NATIONS

9:00 - 9:40 "The Challenge of South and South West Africa for the United Nations"
E.H. Diallo Telli, Ambassador to the United Nations of the Republic of Guinee; Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid

10:00 - 11:00 "Analysis of United States Policy Toward South Africa
Franklin D. Roosevelt, III, student, Columbia University
George Houser, Executive Director, American Committee on Africa

11:00 - 12:00 Discussion Groups

12:00 - 12:30 "The Moral and Political Need for Policy Initiatives"
Allard Lowenstein, professor, North Carolina State College

DO NOT DESTROY -
PENDING LITIGATION
SEE 197-3 SER 226 DATED 10-11-71

Afternoon Session:

2:30 - 5:00 Demonstration at the White House
Meeting with State Department

Evening Session: WITH AN EYE TO THE FUTURE

7:30 - 9:00 "Continuing Pressure for Change" - discussion of campus coordination through a permanent American Students Against Apertheid Committee - meetings by regions, assignments to be announced

9:30 - 10:00 "The End of the Beginning" - Phil Ehrensaft, Co-Cheirman, African Freedom Day Action Against Apertheid

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 26, 1964

DEMONSTRATION BY THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT'S ASSOCIATION, APRIL 10-12, 1964, Washington, D.C. RACIAL MATTERS

100-31926

[redacted] b3 b7E

On March 20, 1964, Lieutenant Herman Xander, Special Investigations Squad, Metropolitan Police Department (MPD), advised Allen Shockley, [redacted] and Director of Progress, International Committee of the United States National Student's Association had communicated with the MPD and stated three hundred students from northeast colleges planned to demonstrate in Washington, D. C., April 10, 11, 12, 1964. She said the students will also be attending a conference at Georgetown University during this period and the conference has been named "African Freedom Day-Action Against Apartheid." b6 b7C

Miss Shockley further advised she would be in charge of this conference and demonstration, which is planned near the White House, and she will be assisted by one Fred Du Bow, [redacted] b6 b7C

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cc 100-31926

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4/7/64

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-new)

SUBJECT: DEMONSTRATION BY U.S. NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION, APRIL 10, 11, 12, 1964, WASHINGTON, D.C.;
RACIAL MATTERS

Re WFO letter 3/26/64.

Philadelphia indices negative on ELLEN SHOCKLEY.

There is no Spence Street in Philadelphia. The 3900 block of Spruce Street is on the University of Pennsylvania U. of P.) Campus. Miss SHOCKLEY is not listed in the Directory of the University students, nor does she appear in the telephone directory for that address. A number of U. of P. fraternity and sorority houses appear on the block as do some rooming houses. The National Students Association is located on the U. of P. Campus approximately three blocks distance from the SHOCKLEY address.

Should information come to attention regarding the plans of the demonstration, the Bureau and WFO will be advised.

3 - Bureau (R.M.)
2 - Washington Field (R.M.)
2 - Philadelphia
1 - 157-new
1 - 100-31926

NSH:jp
(7)

157-1099-3

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